HARVARD UKRAINIAN STUDIES

Volume I Number 2 June 1977

Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute
Cambridge, Massachusetts

ISSN 0363-5570

Published by the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Printed by Imprimerie Orientaliste, Louvain, Belgium

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ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF *H* AND THE NEW *G* IN UKRAINIAN

GEORGE Y. SHEVELOV

Old Ukrainian records written in Cyrillic furnish no direct indication of the phonetic value of the letter г (hereafter "g").[1] What is known is that its sound value in the original Cyrillic alphabet was [g], while in Modern Ukrainian it is [h]. Since the change affected all positions (except in the cluster *zg*, a problem which will not be treated in any detail in this article), native speakers felt no need to make any adjustments in the alphabet or orthography to reflect the change. Hence, suggestions concerning the mechanism and the chronology of the change were mostly speculative; a few others treated the textual evidence naively. Typically, it was assumed that *g* first changed into the voiced counterpart of *x*, usually denoted γ, which at some later point was pharyngealized into what is traditionally denoted *h*. Since the change $g > \gamma$ occurred in the vast area from the Bavarian frontier to the Oka (i.e., in Czech, Slovak, Upper Sorbian, Belorussian, Ukrainian, and South Russian, as well as in some westernmost dialects of Slovene and some littoral dialects of Serbo-Croatian), it was relegated to prehistoric time.[2]

[1] For abbreviations of source titles, linguistic terminology, and references see Appendixes 1, 2, and 3 on pp. 150-152. In the transliteration of Old Ukrainian texts г is rendered as *g*, и and і as *i* and the *jer*s are retained; in that of Middle Ukrainian texts, г is rendered as *h*, и and і as *y*, ъ as ", ь as ', and ы as *ÿ*. The cutoff date is 1387 (which is purely conventional and does not imply that the sound changes in question occurred in or near that year). For both periods "jat'" is rendered as *ě*, "jus mal" as *ę*, and "fita" as *th*, regardless of their phonetic value.

[2] "... als dialektische Erscheinungen späturslavischen Zeit betrachtet werden dürfen" —N. Trubetzkoy, *ZSPh* 1 (1924): 293; "... eine dialektische Erscheinung der urslavischen Periode"—N. Trubetzkoy, *Fs Miletič*, p. 270; "... at the very latest in the 10th century, more probably before 900"—Anderson, p. 561; although in part of Belorussian and South Russian "not until after" the fall of *jer*s (Anderson, p. 565), which would put in doubt the Common Slavic scope of the change $g > \gamma$. Cf. the more cautious approach in my *Problems in the Formation of Belorussian* (New York, 1953), pp. 7-9.

The presence of γ as an intermediary between *g* and *h* cannot be doubted. It is well motivated by both articulatory and structural considerations; in addition, γ still exists in South Russian and, alongside *h*, in Belorussian. This implies that the student must establish two chronological dates, one for the passage of *g* to γ, and another for the change γ to *h*. At yet a later stage, whose chronology must also be determined, *g* was reintroduced (in positions other than in the cluster *zg*) into Ukrainian. These three chronological dates constitute the subject of this article. We will attempt to base answers on the concrete data of relative chronology, written records, and dialectal facts, and to abstain from any mental speculations in a factual vacuum.

1. In terms of relative chronology the spirantization of *g* into γ can be studied in connection with the following developments in Old Ukrainian :

a) It occurred after the split of ₒā̆ into *ŏ* and *ā* (eighth to mid-ninth century). OHG *ahorn* 'maple' has the expected distribution of *a* from a long vowel and *o* from a short one : OU **javorъ* (MoU *javir*; its prothetic *j-* also points to that period). Yet OHG *h* has been replaced by *v*. Obviously, Slavic of the time, possibly including Proto-Ukrainian, had as yet no *h*. The word is not attested in Old Ukrainian texts, but the change *o* > *i* and the widespread use of the word in Modern Ukrainian dialects make one assume its presence in Proto-Ukrainian and Old Ukrainian.

b) It occurred after the loss of weak *jer*s (i.e., not before 1050). This is best seen by comparing some Ukrainian data with Slovak. In Slovak, **kъde* 'where' became [gde] (spelled *kde*), not *+hde* or *+de*; apparently, after the loss of ъ, when *k* by assimilation to *d* became *g*, the change *g* > *h* was no longer operative.[3] Consequently, *g* was maintained. In Ukrainian, on the contrary, one has to assume that MoU *de* comes from *hde*, i.e., that the sequence of changes was

kъde > *kde* > *gde* > *hde* > *de*.

This reasoning also applies to *todi* 'then' < *tъgъdě*.

Another alternative, the loss of *g* in the stage *gde*, is less plausible.

[3] This is Trubetzkoy's argument for Czech (*ZSPh* 1 [1924]: 292). Strangely enough, he did not notice (or mention) that when applied to Ukrainian, this argument would lead to the conclusion that in that language *g* passed into γ after the loss of *jer*s, and would thus undermine his view of the Common Slavic dialectal scope of the change.

Also, it is repudiated outright by the spellings *hde* from the time when the sound value of "g" as γ/*h* cannot be doubted: e.g., *nyhde* (Ch Włodawa 1536), *hde*, *tohdy* (Lst Braclav 1545, Lst Luc'k 1552 a.o.);[4] the form *de* is not attested in Old Ukrainian. (In principle a simplification of the clusters *gd*/*kt* is, of course, quite possible; cf. *tytar* 'sexton' from Gr κτίτωρ, *dulja* 'a sort of pears' from P *gdula* < La *cydonea*).

c) It occurred before the change *ė* > *i*. Rm *cîrlig* 'hook' appears in Ukrainian as *gyrlýga* 'shepherd's stick', with *i* changed into *y* but *g* not changed into *h*—i.e., the word should have been borrowed either before the coalescence of *y* and *i* or just after it, during the short time when the language had no *i* (which was reintroduced through the change *ė* > *i*). The change *ė* > *i* took place in Bukovyna-Podillja in the late thirteenth century, in Volhynia in the mid-fifteenth century. A borrowing of a Rumanian pastural term is likely to have taken place about that time (the fourteenth to the sixteenth century). Compare also the treatment of Li (Žemait.) *Svidrigal* PN as *Švytrykhal* (Ch Žytomyr 1433).[5]

One may thus conclude that the spirantization of *g* occurred between the mid-eleventh and the fifteenth century, and in Bukovyna-Podillja in the late thirteenth century. For the Galician and Podilljan dialects this frame can be narrowed by reference to the fact that at the time of the change *ky*, *xy* > *ki*, *xi* the sequences *hy* were not affected. This change took place during the late thirteenth century. Apparently, *h* existed in that area at the time, whereas *g* no longer did.

Finally, a historical fact may be invoked—the acceptance of Christianity. Since all the original Christian names in Ukrainian contain *h*, the change *g* > *h* (γ) clearly occurred after the conversion, i.e., after the tenth century. Otherwise, there would have been other substitutes for Gr γ as rendered by ChSl "g".

2. In using the data of written records, one must first reject certain spellings as irrelevant to the problem of chronology, despite some attempts to use them in solving this problem.

a) There are several instances of spellings with *x* instead of "g" in Old Ukrainian texts: *xodъ* (corrected to *xodętъ*) instead of *godъ* 'year' in

[4] *Arch Sang* 4 (1890) : 56; *AJuZR*, pt. 6, 1 (1887) : 21; *AJuZR*, pt. 7, 1 (1886) : 156, 171.
[5] Rozov, p. 126.

GB 11th c; *kъnixъčii* instead of *kъnigъčii* 'savant' in Izb 1073; *xrouši* instead of presumably *grouši* 'pears' (Stud 12th c); *xrěxa* instead of *grěxa* 'sin' gen sing (BGV 12th c), and a few more.[6] However, *xodъ* should be disregarded because it is a corruption of a difficult text by a primitive scribe; *kъnixъčii* also occurs in Old Church Slavonic (*knixčii*—Supr) where it is a natural result of the dissimilation of two stops after the loss of ъ. The Old Ukrainian scribe restored the *jer* but retained the Old Church Slavonic consonant; *xrěxa* is an anticipatory misspelling; and *xrouši*, which remains a completely isolated example, can only be a scribal error.

Not only are particular examples unsatisfactory, but the entire search for *γ/h* behind *x* is unacceptable. Whether "g" was [g] or [γ/h], it continually retained its phonemic identity, distinct from /x/, and there is no more reason to expect those two letters to be confused than, say, *b* and *p*, or *t* and *d*. Such confusions are possible only for foreigners accustomed to a language that has *x* but not *h* or vice versa, such as Rumanian and Hungarian. Actually, in Moldavian charters such confusions are by no means rare, e.g., *pana Hrynkova* ~ *pana Xrynka* 'Mr. Hryn'ko' gen sing (1414), *Tyhomyrovo selyšče* 'village of Tyxomyrovo' (1420), *ouxorskýx* ~ *ouhorskyx* 'Hungarian' loc pl (1423), *moxylu* (= *mohylu*) 'mound' acc sing (1425), *Xavrylovcy* GN (= *Havrylovci*) (1503) and many more.[7] In the Transcarpathian dialects that were in constant contact with Hungarian, such confusion affected even some native words: *nexay* ~ *nęhay* 'let' (Kap 1640), *nehaj* (UK 1695), Mo *nahaj* instead of StU *nexáj*; also, *Myxal'* PN became *Myhal'* 'Michael' (apparently attested since 1492).[8] But this situation does not appear in any record of the Old Ukrainian period.

b) In the roots *gněv-* 'ire' and *gnoj-*, rarely *gъn* 'drive', after prefixes ending in *z*, the initial consonant is omitted in some Old Ukrainian texts, e.g., *razněvavъ* (Izb 1073), *iznijetь* (Izb 1076), *razněvasę*

[6] GB, p. 27; Izb 1073, f. 232v; A. Gorskij and K. Nevostruev, *Opisanie slavjanskix rukopisej Moskovskoj sinodal'noj biblioteki*, vol. 3, pt. 1. (Moscow, 1869; reprint Wiesbaden, 1964), p. 259; Kopko, p. 76 (cf. also F. V. Mareš in *Slavia* 32 [1963]: 424). For a more detailed discussion see my *Teasers and Appeasers* (Munich, 1971), pp. 159 ff.

[7] M. Costăchescu, *Documentele Moldoveneşti înainte de Ştefan cel Mare*, vol. 1 (Iaşi, 1931), pp. 103, 111, 135, 159, 168; I. Bogdan, *Documentele lui Ştefan cel Mare*, vol. 2 (Bucharest, 1913), p. 225.

[8] J. Vašica in *Slovanský sborník věnovaný... Františku Pastrnkovi* (Prague, 1923), p. 14; Ju. Javorskij, *Novye rukopisnye naxodki v oblasti starinnoj karpatorusskoj pis'mennosti XVI-XVIII vekov* (Prague, 1931), p. 116; I. Pan'kevyč in *Naukovyj zbirnyk Muzeju ukrajins'koji kul'tury v Svydnyku* 4 (Prešov, 1970): 90.

(Arx 1092, Zlst 12th c), *razněvanъ* (BGV 12th c), *razněvavъ*, *izna* (ŽSO 13th c), *razněvajetь* (PA 1307), *razněvasja* (XG 13-14th c), while it is retained in other texts or cases (e.g., *razgněvajetь*—Izb 1076, *razgъn'ěvavъ*—Vyg 12th c, *razgněvatisja*—Usp 12th c, cf. *vъzgněščajǫtь* 'kindle' 3rd pl—GB 11th c, *vъzgněščьše* past act part—LG 14th c).[9]

It is true that in the word-initial preconsonantal position *h* is easily subject to loss for articulatory reasons (besides *de* < *hde* 'where' as discussed above, cf. *Lykéra* PN—Gr Γλυκερία, e.g., *Loukyrěy* gen in Pom 1484, dial *lýna*, *ladýška* from *hlyna* 'clay', *hladyška* 'jug' [Rivne, E Volhynia], *rymýt*, *nizdó* from *hrymyt'* 'thunder' 3rd sing, *hnizdo* 'nest' [scattered points in the upper reaches of the Dniester, Vinnycja oblast', Ce Polissja, Transcarpathia, Lemkivščyna]).[10] Yet, in general, such loss of *h*- before sonants is not typical of Ukrainian.[11] In any case, the loss of the velar does not occur word-initially in *gněvъ*—MoU *hniv*—but only in the cluster *zgn* and is to be taken against other cases of simplification of clusters in Old Ukrainian (and Common Slavic). This is particularly obvious if one remembers that Old (Northern) Polish texts also had *rozniewać*-type forms, whereas Polish never had the development *g* to *h*.[12]

c) The loss of the initial prevocalic velar is found in *ospodarę* 'lord' gen sing, in the inscription on the goblet of Prince Volodimir Davydovič of Černihiv, 1151—MoU *hospódár* 'host'. Such forms reappear in the fourteenth century after an interval of more than two centuries (*ospodarь* along *hospodarę* gen sing—Ch 1386, Volhynia?; *ospodarju* dat sing—Ch Mold 1460, Ch Ostrih 1463, etc.),[13] but then

[9] Izb 1073, f. 145v.; Izb 1076, f. 237; Karskij, p. 48; I. Sreznevskij in *SbORJaS* 1 (1867): 28; Kopko, p. 77; A. Kolessa in *ASPh* 18 (1896): 223; I. Pan'kevyč in *ZNTŠ* 123-124 (1917): 47; Sobolevskij, *Očerki*, p. 29; Izb 1076, f. 144v.; G. Sudnik in *Učenye zapiski Instituta slavjanovedenija* 27 (1963): 177; Usp, f. 28b; GB, p. 210; Sobolevskij, *Očerki*, p. 75 (second pagination). The tradition continued, in part, into Middle Ukrainian: *razněvasę* (Izm 1496; see O. Trebin in *ZUNT* 7 [1910]: 15), *rozněvav"* (VP 1721; see J. Janów in *Prace filologiczne* 14 [1929]: 462). See also *Teasers and Appeasers*, p. 161.

[10] *Pomianyk of Horodyshche*, ed. J. B. Rudnyc'kyj (Winnipeg, 1962), p. 18; H. Šylo in *Praci XII Respublikans'koji dialektolohičnoji narady* (Kiev, 1971), p. 44; J. Dzendzelivs'kyj, *Konspekt z kursu ukrajins'koji dialektolohiji*, vol. 1 (Užhorod, 1965), p. 97.

[11] *Rabuváty* 'rob' is not a new form of *hrabuváty*, but a loanword from P *rabować* (from G *rauben*), and *Rýhir* along *Hrýhir* 'Gregor' probably goes back to Cz *Řehoř*. Tatar *aryamak* 'Arab horse' became U *hromak* and was borrowed by Polish, where it lost its *h*- and from which it returned into Ukrainian as *rumák*.

[12] T. Skulina in *Język polski* 40 (1960): 127 ff.

[13] The inscription was reproduced many times, e.g., in B. Rybakov, *Russkie datirovannye nadpisi XI-XIV vekov* (Moscow, 1964), p. 28; also in G. Y. Shevelov and F. Holling,

they are explicable by the hypercorrect attitude toward developing *h*-prothesis. In Old Ukrainian the form used in 1151 is completely isolated. It can only be understood in light of the current treatment of *h* in foreign words, assuming that the word in question was borrowed as a high style expression from Czech (MoCz *hospodář*; otherwise, the word is attested in Old Ukrainian as *gospodarъ* in a text of Church Slavonic provenance, PS 11th c, with the meaning "master, owner" only). It is likely that in loanwords of the time prevocalic *h*- was not rendered at all or else replaced by *j*-, possibly subsequently (i.e., *h*+V- > V- > *j*+V-). Thus ON *Hǫskuldr* PN became *Askoldъ* (e.g., Hyp 862), *Hákon* PN—*Jakunъ* (Hyp 945), *Hávaldr* PN—*Javolodъ* (Hyp 1209, 1211), *Helgi*, *Helga* PN—*Olьgъ*, *Olьga* (Hyp 964, 1096 a.o.); cf. as late as 1434 *oldovaly* 'pay homage' pl pret based on P *holdowali.*[14] In this context, the form *ospodar*- does not prove the presence of the native *h* in 1151, but rather its absence.

d) Intervocalic velar is missing in the Cyrillic inscription *Ana rъina*, presumably made by a Kievan courtier in the Latin charter issued in the names of King Philippe I of France and his mother Queen Ann from Kiev in 1063. The second word in the text is a transliteration of La *regina* or Fr *reine* 'queen'. However, the lack of *g* before *i* cannot be deemed a reflection of the Old Ukrainian pronunciation: in France by that time, *g* before front vowels had changed into either *j* or *ǯ* and the word should have sounded something like [rəjina]. Moreover, had *g* changed into γ or *h* by that time, foreign γ ~ *j* would be rendered by the Cyrillic "g". The case is, at any rate, irrelevant for the problem of the sound value of "g" in Old Ukrainian.[15]

3. Written records do, however, contain some oblique material for establishing the chronology of the spirantization of *g*. The following may be taken into consideration:

a) In the name "George" there is an interchange of "g" with [d'] and

A Reader in the History of the Eastern Slavic Languages (New York, 1968), p. 6. The charters are quoted from Rozov, p. 30; Jarošenko, p. 287; *Arch Sang* 1 (1887): 56. See also V. Demjančuk in *ZIFV* 15 (1927): 238.

[14] *Sinajskij paterik*, ed. V. Golyšenko and V. Dubrovina (Moscow, 1967), p. 61 and passim. The Hypatian Chronicle is quoted with reference to the year of entry. *Oldovaly* is quoted by Jarošenko, p. 287, from a somewhat unreliable publication.

[15] The text commonly referred to as "the signature of Anna Jaroslavna" in M. Prou, *Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier roi de France* (Paris, 1908), p. 48. The final part of the charter is reproduced in *ASPh* 42 (1929): 259. For this text's bearing on the problem of U γ ~ *h*, see E. Mel'nikov in *Slavjanskoe jazykoznanie*, AN SSSR (Moscow, 1959), p. 119.

j: *Gurgevьskyi* (Hyp 1091), *ko Gurьgovu* (Hyp 1095), *iz Gurgeva* (Usp 12th c)—*Jurьgii* (Hyp 1224), *Jurьeva* (Hyp 1174)—*Djurdi* (Hyp 1135), *sъ Djurgemъ* (Hyp 1157). In this word *g* is etymological, *j* goes back to Greek change *g* (γ) > *j* before front vowels (Gr Γεώργιος; cf. *anьelomъ* 'angel' dat pl—Hyp 1110 based on Gr ἄγγελος) but [d'] points to the pronunciation of [g'] ruling out *h*.[16] The concentration of [d'] forms is observed in the mid-twelfth century. They could not have been introduced by the fifteenth-century Russian copyist of the chronicle and must go back to the original text. One may infer that in, let us say, 1135-57, *g* had not yet changed into γ or *h*.

b) There are cases of foreign *g* being rendered as *k* : *Vilikailъ*, *Vykyntъ* PN (Hyp 1215), *Lonъkogveni* PN (Hyp 1247) render Li *Villegayle*, *Wigint-Lengvenis*, respectively; in *gĕrcik-*, *gercjukъ* 'duke' from G *Herzog* (Hyp 1235, 1252) *k* renders German *g*, while "g" stands for German *h*. In charters, *Olkĕrta* PN gen (1352 Volhynia?), *Kediminoviča* PN gen (1363, area of Novhorod-Sivers'k) render Lithuanian names *Al̃girdas*, *Gẽdiminas*.[17] If *žaka* in Hyp 1251 ("i proide žaku plĕnjaja") is based on Li *žãgas* 'haystock', *žaginỹs* 'pale',[18] this is another instance of substituting *k* for foreign *g*. Such substitutions make sense in a language that does not have *g*. Characteristically, they occur in entries of the thirteenth century. It may be inferred, therefore, that by 1215, *g* had changed into γ.

c) Prevocalic (and intervocalic) *h*, not *g*, is easily subject to interchange with sonantic spirants *v* and *j*, and vice versa. Such cases may be noted in the time after Old Ukrainian. In Modern Ukrainian, for example, one finds *horobéc'* 'sparrow'—cf. R *vorobéj*, Br *verabéj*, P *wróbel*, Sk *vrabec*, Bg *vrabéc*; *jurbá* 'crowd'—cf. R *gur'bá*, Br *hurmá*, P *hurma* 'herd'; *odjahatysja* 'dress'—cf. R *odevát'*, Br *adzjavác'*, P *odziewać* (doublet *odĕvajusę* ~ *odĕhajusja* in Adelp 1591; but later *h* prevails : *odehlysja*—KTS 1618, *odĕha(n)e*—PB 1627, *odĕhalnoe*

[16] Interchanges of *g* and *g'* with *d* and *d'* are also frequent in MoU dialects, e.g. NKiev, NČernihiv *gle* 'for' (StU *dlja*); *gerdán* 'necklace', from Rm *gherdán* 'collar', in SKiev is *d'ordanký*; Hucul *légin'* ~ *lédin'* 'lad', from Hg *legény*; in StU *dzýglyk* 'stool' goes back to P *zydel*, G *Siedel*, etc. The spellings *dju-* are reminiscent of the SC pronunciation with *d*, but OSC spellings of this word are either with *gu-* ~ *gju-* (*Gurgevikь* 1380, *Gjurgь* 1368) or with *ž-* (*Žorьgi* 1289, *Žurgь* 12th c) (*Monumenta Serbica*, ed. F. Miklosich [Vienna, 1858; reprinted Graz, 1964], pp. 195, 177, 56, 7).

[17] Rozov, pp. 5, 8. For Lithuanian counterparts see K. Buga, *Rinktiniai raštai*, vol. 1 (Vilnius, 1958), pp. 246, 256, 227. Cf. also *Kediminoviča* in the "Psalter of Florence 1384," p. 18, quoted from the original unpublished manuscript (the courtesy of Professor Carlo Verdiani).

[18] So assumed by A. Hens'ors'kyj, *Halyc'ko-volyns'kyj litopys* (Kiev, 1961), p. 96.

—PAK 1667, *oděhav''sę*—Rešet DG 1670);[19] in loanwords *čahár* 'bush, shrub' from Osmanlı, Crimean *çayır* 'meadow, grass'; possibly *čavún* 'cast iron' from Turkic (Balkar *čoyun*, Karaim *čojun*); possibly *Tetijiv* GN if derived from *Tĕtij* PN, e.g., of a Cuman prince (attested in Laur 1185)[20] from Cuman *tetig* 'wise', assuming that the word entered into Old Ukrainian somewhat earlier and followed the regular development $g > \gamma$; this would also explain the rendition of Cuman *kičig* 'small' in another PN *Kočija* (Hyp 1103). In Old Ukrainian, a substitution $v <\!\!-\!\!-\!\!> \gamma$ is possibly reflected in *Ivora* PN gen sing (Hyp 1180), if it stands for [ihora], but the example is not certain.[21] Most such substitutions probably fall into the Middle Ukrainian period.

In sum, the evidence of the texts written in Cyrillic, indirect and sparse as it is, suggests that the spirantization of *g* occurred in the second half of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth (conventional orientation dates could be after 1157 and before 1215).

4. In Galicia, Pidljaššja, and Transcarpathia—areas that were in direct contact with the Western nations using the Roman alphabet—one may expect to find direct evidence on the pronunciation of Old Ukrainian "g": the Roman alphabet had two letters, *g* and *h*, in place of the one in the Cyrillic alphabet.

In Galicia, the Roman alphabet was rarely used prior to the Polish annexation, begun in 1349-1352. However, one does find *Hryczkone* 'Gregor' (1334, 1335) and more spellings with *h* (occasionally *ch*) after the occupation: *Belohoscz* GN (Sandomierz 1356), *Hodowicza* PN (1371), *haliciensis* 'Galician' (1375), *Torhowycze* GN (1378), *Rohagyn* (sic!) GN, *haliciensi*, *Drohobicz* GN (Rome 1390), *Halicz* GN (Peremyšl' 1390).[22] Jan Parkosz, the author of a treatise on Polish orthography (1440, available in a copy of 1460) giving the names of letters in the alphabet used by "Rutheni," called the fourth letter *lahol* (MoR *glagól*), with *h* after *a* and the initial preconsonantal *h* characteristically

[19] *Adelphotes: Die erste gedruckte griechisch-kirchenslavische Grammatik*, ed. O. Horbatsch (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1973), p. 182; PB, p. 151; *Aktovye knigi poltavskogo gorodovogo urjada XVII-go veka.*, vol. 1, ed. V. Modzalevskij (Černihiv, 1912), p. 101; P. Žiteckij in *IORJaS* 10, no. 4 (1905): 56.

[20] The Laurentian Chronicle quoted from *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1962), with reference to the year of entry. Cf. A. Zajączkowski, *Związki językowe połowiecko-słowiańskie* (Wrocław, 1949), p. 35.

[21] *Ivor(ъ)* can be just another Slavic rendition of Scandinavian *Ingvarr*, on which *Igorъ* is also based.

[22] *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie* 2 (L'viv, 1870): 5, 6, 12, and 3 (1872): 17, 86, 101. Cf. also Sobolevskij, *Očerki*, p. 106f., and in *RFV* 63 (1910): 111.

omitted.[23] In Pidljaššja, the city name *Hrubeschow* (founded in 1400) is attested in this form since 1446.[24] There are occasional spellings with *g* (*Bogdano* PN—L'viv 1376, *mogilla* 1378, *Bogdanowicz* PN—Peremyšl' 1427) but they are easily explained by Polish written tradition.[25] The presence of γ or *h* since 1334 is indisputable: however, this cannot be traced back any further in written records because earlier ones do not exist.

In the Transcarpathian regions, where relevant records seem to date back to 1215, *h* is attested since 1229, but *g* often appears afterwards: *Golosa* PN 1215,[26] *Galich* GN 1240, *Gallicia* GN 1254, *Mylgozt* PN 1266, *Mogula* GN 1266, *Bereg* GN 1263, *Igrischtya* GN 1377 vs. *Halicie rex* 1229, *Hillinua* RN (= *hlynna* 'of clay') 1270, *Kemonahurka* GN (= *Kamenna hurka* 'stone mountain') 1336, *Dolha* GN 1336, 1337, *Hwrniach* GN (= *hurnjak*), *Hyrip* GN (= *hryb* 'hill') 1370, villa *Poth(o)ren* (= *Podhoren* 'under hill') 1389, *Horbach* PN 1393; cf. also *Beregh* GN 1261, 1285, *Ungh* ~ *Ugh* RN 1285, 1288.[27] The interplay of *g* and *h* forms is understandable when one considers the complexity of the nationality situation in the area. Here Ukrainian settlements expanded alongside Rumanian, Hungarian, and, in part, Slovak, Polish, and Bulgarian ones, and scribes who wrote in Latin were, as a rule, Hungarian. Hungarians and Rumanians who learned the name of a village with *g* could have preserved this form after *g* had changed in the language of the Ukrainian population, and could have continued to use the corresponding form in writing. Conversely, *h* forms had

[23] *Materjały i prace Komisji językowej*, vol. 2 (Cracow, 1907), p. 398.

[24] S. Warchoł, *Nazwy miast Lubelszczyzny* (Lublin, 1964), p. 73.

[25] Cf. a spelling with *g* in this name as late as 1723: *Bokhdančenko* [Pyrjatyn town records]: *Storoženki, famil'nyj arxiv*, vol. 1 (Kiev, 1908), p. 23.

[26] As reproduced in the 1550 edition of *Regestrum Varadinense*: see J. Karácsonyi and S. Borovszky, *Regestrum Varadinense* (Budapest, 1903), pp. 176, 163.

[27] *Árpádkori újokmánytár* [Magyar történelmi emlékek–Monumenta Hungariae historica, ed. G. Wenzel (Budapest)] 4 (1862): 328; 6 (1867): 477; 7 (1869): 283, 361; 8 (1870): 261; *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár*, vol. 1 (Budapest, 1951), p. 311; V. Bélay, *Máramoros megye társadalma és nemzetiségei* (Budapest, 1943), p. 144; F. Maksai, *A középkori Szatmár megye* (Budapest, 1940), p. 146; F. Lónyay, *A nagylónyai és vásárosnaményi Lónyay-család eredete* (Budapest, 1941), pp. 137, 138, 142. All other data is quoted from L. Dèže (Dezső), *Očerki po istorii zakarpatskix govorov* (Budapest, 1967), p. 61, with reference to *Nagymihályi és sztárai gróf Sztáray család oklevéltára*, and D. Csánki, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában*, publications which were not available to me; unfortunately, however, Dezső's references are sometimes imprecise. See also I. Pan'kevyč, *Narys istoriji ukrajins'kyx zakarparts'kyx hovoriv*, vol. 1 (Prague, 1958) (= Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Philologica 1), pp. 37f., and in *Slavia* 24 (1955): 235. Cf. J. Dzendzelivs'kyj and P. Čučka in *Movoznavstvo* 2 (1968): 81.

no written tradition and must be taken at their face value. Even with utmost caution, it may still be said that, at least in some localities, γ or *h* was present not later than from 1229.[28]

This conclusion is indirectly confirmed by the fact that Hungarian and Rumanian names of villages founded in the fourteenth century have preserved their *g* to this day, even among the Ukrainian population: *Cseng(ava)*—MoU *Čyngava*, *Negova*—*Njagovo* (from Rm *Neag(a)* PN) a.o. This may mean that in the fourteenth century the change *g* > γ was no longer operative, which presupposes that it began a considerable time earlier.

5. In light of the preceding data, the spirantization of *g* should be placed in the late twelfth or the early thirteenth century. It was a sweeping change: *g* was not preserved in any position except in the cluster *zg*. The change occurred throughout Ukrainian territory. Using the available data, it is impossible to establish definitively the original center of its irradiation, although it was probably in the west or southwest of the country. Moreover, it was shared with Belorussian, from which it probably spread to South Russian (not necessarily immediately; unfortunately, documentation from that area is virtually non-existent). The spirantization of *g* in Czech is documented from about the same time (1169), in Slovak from 1108; in Upper Sorbian *g* apparently existed until the end of the thirteenth century. Yet, as shown in section 1-b above, in Slovak (and Czech) it actually occurred before the loss of *jer*s, i.e., presumably in the tenth century. Thus, there were several independent areas of spirantization of *g*, certainly at least three—Czech and Slovak; Ukrainian, Belorussian, and South Russian; and Upper Serbian—and perhaps more if Slovak implemented spirantization independently from Czech, and South Russian independently from Belorussian (not to mention dialects of Slovene and Serbo-Croatian). The cluster *zg* was maintained without change in Belorussian and Slovak, as well as in Ukrainian.

Questioning the reasons for these changes is a special topic that will only be touched upon in this article. An attempt to deal with it was made by Trubetzkoy.[29] In brief outline, the following answer, which partially modifies his views, can be given.

[28] Examination of the names of towns and villages of Ukrainian origin in Moldavia which were probably founded in the thirteenth century leads to the same conclusion: Cf. *Horodişte, Horodea, Dolhasca, Haliţa, Hlina* a.o. See E. Petrovici in *RmSl* 4 (1960).
[29] In *Fs Miletič*, pp. 272 ff. Andersen's attempt to view this as a manifestation

The principal motivation for the change $g > \gamma$ seems to have been morphophonemic: by the twelfth century the alternants were spirants:

$$g : \check{z} : z$$

(*noga* 'foot' : *nozė* : *nòžka*). It would have been more consistent to have the first alternant also a spirant. Such a pattern existed in the alternation :

$$x : \check{s} : s$$

(*muxa* 'fly' : *musė* : *muška*). The third velar was a stop and had no spirants as alternants:

$$k : \check{c} : c$$

(*ruka* 'hand': *rucė*: *ručka*). The change $g > \gamma$ introduced the complete identity of two series:

$$\gamma : \check{z} : z \quad \text{as} \quad x : \check{s} : s$$

The morphophonemic motivation for the spirantization of *g* is strongly confirmed by its preservation after *z*. In the cluster *zg*, the alternation was not with *ž* but with *ǯ* and, probably, not with *z* but with *ʒ*—i.e., it precisely paralleled not the *x* series, but the *k* series :

$$(z)g : (\check{z})\check{ʒ} : (z)ʒ \quad \text{as} \quad k : \check{c} : c.$$

It is only logical that *g* underwent no spirantization in that cluster. (This makes superfluous Andersen's suggestion [558 ff.] that the reasons for the preservation of *g* in the cluster *zg* can be found only in the language situation before the loss of *jer*s.)

There was no resistance on the part of the phonemic system. It was asymmetrical :

$$\begin{matrix} k — g \\ x \end{matrix}$$

and so it remained after the change:

$$\begin{matrix} k \\ x — \gamma. \end{matrix}$$

The stop *g* was no longer a phoneme : its preservation in the cluster *zg* was phonemically irrelevant because γ was not admitted in this position (except on morphemic boundaries between prefixes and roots, of the type MoU *uzhírja* 'slope', clearly a special case).

The subsequent shift of γ to a more back, pharyngeal articulation of *h* was phonemically and morphophonemically inconsequential;

of the alleged Proto-Ukrainian switch to the contrast tense vs. lax is not borne out by the factual data.

acoustically, the two sounds are nearly identical.[30] Since the language had no other pharyngeal consonants, this area was open to optional inroads without any ensuing phonemic shift. The switch from γ to *h* was probably accelerated by the development of prothetic *h-* (the sixteenth century at the latest). For a prothetic consonant the pharyngeal articulation was, so to speak, natural. When *h* arose in prothesis, the existence of two articulations, *h* and γ, became excessive and *h* was generalized. With this interpretation the change γ > *h* can be tentatively placed into the sixteenth century.[31] South Russian, which developed no prothetic *h-*, still preserves γ. In Belorussian, where prothetic *h-* only appears in the southwestern dialects, *h* and γ are in competition but γ is said to prevail (see *DABM*, maps 47, 48).

6. Frontal exposure of Middle Ukrainian to the Western languages brought about, among other things, a flood of Western words with *g* for which the language had no precise equivalent. On the other hand, the subsystem of velars had a vacancy for *g* because *k* lacked a voiced counterpart :

$$
\begin{array}{l} k \; — \\ x \; — \; \gamma \end{array}
$$

This created prerequisites for the reintroduction of *g*, which was absent in Old Ukrainian from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

The reintroduction of *g* is usually placed in the late fourteenth century because at that time (after 1387) a special digraph was introduced in secular writings to denote *g* : *kh*;[32] *Khyrdyvyd* PN (Ch Łęczyca 1388), *Khastovtъ* PN (Ch Cracow 1392), *Ydykhyę* (Ch Cracow 1393). But certain circumstances call for caution. Available evidence indicates that the custom started in Polish chanceries. The first instances of its use by scribes in the Ukraine seem to date to 1424 (*Švytrykhaylo* PN—Ch Snjatyn). Perhaps scribes better acquainted with Latin and Polish orthographic habits were dissatisfied with the non-distinction between

[30] In those dialects that do not admit voiced consonants in word-final position and before voiceless consonants, *x* characteristically appears as an alternant of *h*, e.g., [sn'ix], StU *snih* 'snow'.

[31] The chronology of the change γ > *h* must have been different—to wit, not later than the late thirteenth century—in those Southwestern dialects that shifted *ky*, *xy* to *ki*, *xi* but preserved *hy* unchanged. Whether they had prothetic *h* at that time is uncertain.

[32] It recalls the Greek digraph with the same sound value. But Greek uses the two components in reverse order, e.g., MoGk γκάζι 'gas', γκρί 'gray' and, as Professor Ihor Ševčenko kindly informs me, the Greek digraph hardly appeared before the fifteenth century.

g and *h* in the Cyrillic written documents they issued, especially in proper names (all the earliest records concern such names), and therefore launched that digraph. Its use in the fifteenth century seems to have been limited primarily to proper names, such as *Son"khuškovyčju* dat sing (Ch 1446, Puni). Exceptionally, it was also used in some church books, but there, too, for proper names (*Khomoru* GN acc 'Gomorrah'—Antonovec' Acts and Epistles 15th c). One comes across it in other words only from the sixteenth century: *khmaxom"* 'building' dat pl (Lstr Kremjanec' 1552), *khruntȳ* 'land property' nom pl (Krex 1571), *o dyfthonkhax"* 'diphthong' loc pl (LZ 1596). By the very end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, attempts were made to use the Roman letter *g* or to introduce the special new Cyrillic letter Ґ: *fĕgoura* 'figure' (ClOstr 1599), *grono* 'cluster' (PB 1627), etc.; but the use of *kh* lasted into the eighteenth century (*Jakhello* PN—Hrabjanka 1710).[33]

From these facts we can infer that the spellings of *kh* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries do not necessarily point to the reintroduction of *g* in the Ukrainian language outside of Transcarpathia and possibly Bukovyna.[34] Rather, they may have been an orthographic device to preserve in Cyrillic writings the identity of proper names as spelled in the Roman alphabet. It is most likely that *g* was reintroduced

[33] Rozov, pp. 38, 47, 48, 99; *Arch Sang*, p. 43; M. Karpinskij in *RFV* 19 (1888): 70; *AJuZR* pt. 7, 2 (1890): 28; I. Ohijenko, *Ukrajins'ka literaturna mova XVI-ho st.*, vol. 1: *Krexivs'kyj Apostol 1560-x r.* (Warsaw, 1930), p. 511; LZ, p. 88; *Pamjatky ukrajins'ko-rus'koji movy i literatury*, vol. 5 (L'viv, 1906), p. 201; PB, p. 48; H. Hrabjanka, *Děstvyja prezěl'noj y ot načala poljakov krvavšoj nebȳvaloj brany Bohdana Xmel'nyckoho* (Kiev, 1854), p. 18.

The use of the digraph *kh* may best be understood if one assumes that scribes in Poland introduced it on the precedent of HG *kh*. In OHG and MHG writings (more specifically, in the Bavarian and Austrian scribal schools) *kh* was a graphic variant of *ch* (with *c* = [k]) to denote an affricated *k*; however, its sound value was hardly known to scribes in Poland. They saw the sign used, and since one for [g] was needed, they introduced it with that sound value. Less plausible is the possibility of patterning early U *kh* on the Low German scribal fashion (in MLG) of using *h* after various consonants, including *k*, without any sound value, as a sophistication device. See H. Paul, *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik* (Halle, 1944), p. 77; A. Lasch, *Mittelniederdeutsche Grammatik* (Halle, 1914), p. 136.

[34] For Bukovyna an earlier date for the reintroduction of *g* may be accepted, on the basis of the form (dialectal Carpathian) *kljag(a)* 'whey ferment', borrowed from Old Rm **kl'ag* (La *coagulum*), prior to the loss of *l'* in Rm (MoRm *cheag* [k'a-]); cf. *zgljaganoe moloko* in Lucidarium 1636 (Karskij, p. 544; the root-initial *g* from *k* by assimilation: cf. E. Vrabie in *RmSl* 14 [1967]: 110, 153f.). It is probable that Bukovyna was also instrumental in the transmission of *gyrlyga* to other regions of the Ukraine (see section 1-c above).

into spoken Ukrainian in the sixteenth century, and that possibly even then it was at first a feature of the educated. This would explain why Meletij Smotryc'kyj (1619) placed the letter *g* alongside *f*, *ks*, *ps*, and *th* as being *strannaja* 'foreign' ("slavjansku jazÿku i kromě syx sostojaty mohušču") and specifically warned against confusing *g* and *h* by referring to the example *odygýtrya*, a rarely used foreign word, vs. *hora* 'mountain', a commonly used Slavic one (1619).[35] This also accounts for the occasional, unexpected use of *kh* in foreign words in place of *h* (e.g., *kholdovat* 'pay homage'—Ch 1393, Molodečno—from P *holdować!*) or even in native words (*khlynÿ* 'clay' gen sing— LSF 1595).[36] On the other hand, *g* was certainly accepted in the common language not later than ca. 1600 : this was the time of the first Ukrainian settlement in what is now the southern part of the Voronež oblast' of the RSFSR, and these dialects do, indeed, have *g* (e.g., *gnóttja* 'wicks', *gerlýga* 'shepherd's stick', etc.).[37]

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APPENDIX 1: ABBREVIATIONS OF SOURCE TITLES

Adelp	=	Adelphotes: Hrammatyka dobrohlaholyvoho ellynoslovenskaho jazÿka ... (1591)
Arx	=	The Gospel of Archangel (1092)
BGV	=	*Besědy na evangelija* by St. Gregor the Great (12th c)
Ch	=	charter
ClOstr	=	Cleric of Ostrih: Otpys na lyst... Ypatya; Ystorya o... florenskom synodě (1598)
GB	=	"XIII slov Grigorija Bogoslova" (11th c)
Hyp	=	Hypatian Chronicle
Izb	=	Izbornik
İzm	=	İzmarahd (1462-1496)
Kap	=	Kapyšovs'kyj's Didactic Gospel (written in Galicia before 1640)
Krex	=	Acts and Epistles of Krexiv Monastery
Laur	=	Laurentian Chronicle
LG	=	The Gospel of Luc'k
LSF	=	Documents of the L'viv Stavropygian Brotherhood

[35] Meletij Smotryc'kyj, *Hrammatiki slavenskija pravilnoe syntagma*, ed. O. Horbatsch (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1974), pp. 8, 11. *Odygytrya*, literally "guide", was applied to certain icons of the Holy Virgin.
[36] Rozov, p. 43; M. Xudaš, *Leksyka ukrajins'kyx dilovyx dokumentiv kincja XVI–počatku XVII st.* (Kiev, 1961), p. 53.
[37] H. Solons'ka in *O. O. Potebnja i dejaki pytannja sučasnoji slavistyky* (Xarkiv, 1962), p. 243.

Lst = Lustracija (census)
LZ = Lavrentij Zyzanij, *Hrammatyka slovenska*
PA = The Pandects of Antiochus
PAK = Poltavs'ki aktovi knyhy [Town records of Poltava]
PB = Pamva Berynda: *Leksykon slavenorosskyj*
Pom = pomjanyk [Book of commemoration]
Rešet DG = The Didactic Gospel of Rešetylivka by the priest Semyon Tymofěevyč
Stud = The Studion Statute
UK = Ključ, anthology of Uglja [Transcarpathia]
Usp = Uspenskij sbornik [Anthology of the Uspenskij Cathedral]
Vyg = Manuscript of Vyg and Leksa Monasteries
XG = The Gospel of Xolm (Chełm)
Zlst = Zlatostruj
ŽSO = Žytyje Savy Osvjaščennoho [The life of St. Sava]

APPENDIX 2: REFERENCES, WITH ABBREVIATIONS

AJuZR = *Arxiv Jugo-zapadnoj Rossii* (Kiev).
Andersen = Henning Andersen. "Lenition in Common Slavic." *Language* 45 (1969).
Arch Sang = *Archiwum książąt Lubartowiczów Sanguszków w Sławucie* (L'viv).
ASPh = *Archiv für slavische Philologie*.
DABM = *Dyjalektalahičny atlas belaruskaj movy*. Minsk, 1963
Fs Miletič = *Sbornik v čest na prof. L. Miletič*. Sofia, 1933.
GB = A. Budilovič. *Issledovanie jazyka drevneslavjanskogo perevoda XIII slov Grigorija Bogoslova*. St. Petersburg, 1871.
Hyp = AN SSSR, *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*. Vol. 2: *Ipat'evskaja letopis'*. Moscow, 1962.
IORJaS = *Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti* [of the Russian Academy of Sciences].
Izb 1073 = *Izbornik velikogo knjazja Svjatoslava Jaroslaviča 1073 goda*. St. Petersburg, 1880.
Izb 1076 = *Izbornik 1076 goda*. Edited by V. Golyšenko et al. Moscow, 1965.
Jarošenko = V. Jarošenko. "Ukrajins'ka mova v moldavs'kyx hramotax XIV-XV vv." *Zbirnyk Komisiji dlja doslidžennja istoriji ukrajins'koji movy* [of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences]. Vol. 1. Kiev, 1931.
Karskij = E. Karskij. *Trudy po belorusskomu i drugim slavjanskim jazykam*. Moscow, 1962.
Kopko = P. Kopko. *Issledovanie o jazyke "Besed na Evangelija" (sv. Grigorija Velikogo papy rimskogo) pamjatnika južnorusskogo XII veka*. L'viv, 1909.
KTS = Kyryl Trankvilion Stavrovec'kyj. *Zercalo bohoslovyy*.
LZ = Lavrentij Zizanij. *Hrammatika slovenska*. Edited by G. Friedhof. Frankfurt-am-Main, 1972.
PB = *Leksykon slavenoros'kyj Pamvy Beryndy*. Edited by V. Nimčuk. Kiev, 1961.
RFV = *Russkij filologičeskij vestnik*.
RmSl = *Romanoslavica* (Bucharest).
Rozov = V. Rozov. *Ukrajins'ki hramoty*. Vol. 1. Kiev, 1928.

Sobolevskij, *Očerki*	=	A. Sobolevskij. *Očerki iz istorii russkogo jazyka.* Kiev, 1884.
Usp	=	*Uspenskij sbornik XII-XIII vv.* Edited by S. Kotkov. Moscow, 1971.
ZIFV	=	*Zapysky Istoryčno-filolohičnoho viddilu* [of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences].
ZNTŠ	=	*Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeny Tarasa Ševčenka.*
ZSPh	=	*Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie.*
ZUNT	=	*Zapysky Ukrajins'koho naukovoho tovarystva* (Kiev).

APPENDIX 3: OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

Bg	=	Bulgarian
Br	=	Belorussian
c	=	century, centuries
Ce	=	central
ChSl	=	Church Slavonic
CS	=	Common Slavic
Cz	=	Czech
E	=	east(ern)
Fr	=	French
G	=	German
GN	=	geographical name
GP	=	Galician and Podilljan
Gr	=	Greek
HG	=	High German
Hg	=	Hungarian
KP	=	Kievan and Polissjan
La	=	Latin
Li	=	Lithuanian
M	=	Middle
m	=	mid
Mo	=	Modern
Mold	=	Moldavian
N	=	north(ern)
O	=	Old
OCS	=	Old Church Slavonic
ON	=	Old Norse
Osm	=	Osmanlı
P	=	Polish
PN	=	personal name
PU	=	Proto-Ukrainian
R	=	Russian
RN	=	river name
Rm	=	Rumanian
S	=	south(ern)
SC	=	Serbo-Croatian
Sk	=	Slovak
Sl	=	Slavic
Sn	=	Slovene
St	=	standard
Tc	=	Turkic
U	=	Ukrainian
US	=	Upper Sorbian
W	=	west(ern)

Grammatical terms are abbreviated according to traditional forms.

THE HEBREW CHRONICLES ON BOHDAN KHMEL'NYTS'KYI AND THE COSSACK-POLISH WAR*

BERNARD D. WEINRYB

INTRODUCTION: JEWS IN THE UKRAINE

In contrast to the open question of early Jewish settlement in Kievan Rus' and the adjacent region is the undeniable continuity of Jewish settlement in other areas of the Ukraine.[1] Among these are the province of Kaffa-Theodosia in the south and the Galician and Volhynian regions in the west.

Kaffa, which was a colony of Genoa from 1260 to 1475, developed into a commercial center with access to the Mediterranean. Although Genoa itself may have been inimical to Jews at that time, here they met with little discrimination. Jews from both the West (Italy, possibly also Poland) and the East migrated to the province and settled there. Nevertheless, the area's total Jewish population remained small (the large numbers quoted in some studies were based on misreadings of the travelogue by Schiltberger, a German who was there sometime between 1394 and 1427).[2]

Most of the Jewish settlers in Kaffa seem to have been of Italian-Sephardic-Oriental origin—at least, this is indicated by the names of

* A brief report about the chronicle of Nathan Hanover was read by the author at the AAASS meeting held in New York City on 18-21 April 1973.

[1] Bernard D. Weinryb, *The Beginnings of East European Jewry in Legend and Historiography and Booklore* 6 (1963): 111-129, pt. 2 in ibid. 11 (1975-76): 57-75. Philip Friedman, "The Millenium of Jewish Settlement in the Ukraine and in Adjacent Areas." "The Millenium of Jewish Settlement in the Ukraine and in Adjacent Areas," *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* 7 (1959): 1483-1516; I. Malyshevskii, "Evrei v Yuzhnoi Rusi i Kieve v X-XII vekakh," *Trudy Kievskoi dukhovnoi akademii*, 1878, no. 6, pp. 565-602.

[2] Valentin Langmantel, *Hans Schiltbergers Reisebuch, nach der Nürenberger Handschrift herausgegeben* (Tübingen, 1885), p. 63. This tells of two kinds of Jews (rabbanite and Karaite) in Kaffa, each having a synagogue of their own. The next sentence reads, "Es sein auch IIII [4] thausendt heuser in der Vorstadt [there are also in the suburb four thousand houses]." Most of those who quote Schiltberger assumed that the Jews had 4,000 houses, but this is not so.

the Jewish community leaders appearing in a document dated 1455.[3] After the Turks took Kaffa in 1475 and during the subsequent period of Turkish-Tatar rule, a number of Jewish immigrants from Asia (Persia, Babylonia, and Yemen) arrived, which apparently caused increased tension within the Jewish community.[4] Some Jews may have immigrated to Kaffa and the Crimea during the next few centuries, but the area's Jewish population remained small: in 1783, shortly after the province was conquered by Russia, Jews in Kaffa numbered 293, while the total Jewish population in the Crimea was estimated at 2,800.[5]

The Jewish population developed along different lines in the Galician and Volhynian regions. Here, too, the number of Jews was very small during the times of the Galician-Volhynian state (1199-1349), but in subsequent centuries it increased as the number of Jews in Poland rose and some migrated eastward. It should be emphasized, however, that these beginnings were very modest indeed.

The main sources about Jews in Galicia and Volhynia are written in Hebrew and date from the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century (for western Poland, including Silesia, we have some general documents from the mid-twelfth century). These are accounts of the journeys made by Rabbi Isaac Durbalo from Germany or France and by Rabbi Eliezer ben Isaac from Bohemia (Prague) through Rus' (the Hebrew term *Rusyah* was used during the Middle Ages and later to designate Galicia or "Red Rus'," Volhynia, Ruthenia, the northern parts of Belorussia, and possibly also Podillia [Podolia]). The Jews these rabbis mentioned may have been only a few individuals. But this was not true of the Jewish communities the same Eliezer described in his letter to Rabbi Jehuda Hachassid of Regensburg (died 1217), writing that "most Jews in Poland, Rusia, and Hungary are unlearned in Jewish lore, because of poverty" (or "adversity," since *dohak*, the Hebrew expression he used, has both meanings). Their Jewish communities, he continued, could not pay the salary of a cantor or rabbi, and therefore "hire themselves whomever they [can] find to fulfill the functions of cantor, judge, and teacher for their children, and promise him all these [gifts]." Eliezer expressed the fear that unless these

[3] *Evreiskaia starina* 5 (St. Petersburg, 1912): 68-69.

[4] Jakov ben Moshe "of Kiev" tried to integrate the different groups (1510-1515) and also compiled a unified prayer book, *Makhzor Kafa*.

[5] *Regesty i nadpisi: Svod materialov dlia istorii evreev v Rossii*, vol. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1913), nos. 2303-2304.

individuals received the gifts promised, they would forsake their duties, leaving the Jews "without Torah, without a judge, and without prayer."[6] This correspondence evokes the image of small groups of Jews, probably new settlers, trying to live according to Jewish tradition but lacking the education and financial resources to support the necessary functionaries. It also indicates the Western (Bohemian, German) provenance of the settlers, both by the interest the Western rabbis took in their situation and by the fact that these communities were ready to comply with the instructions of a "foreign" rabbi.

The few fragments of information about the next two centuries available to us indicate that there were Jews in L'viv (Lwów) before the Polish king Casimir the Great annexed the city and granted it Magdeburg law autonomy (1356). A few years later (1364) Casimir extended to the Jews of L'viv the Polish privilege of 1264, originally granted by Prince Boleslas of Kalisz for Great Poland, and this later became the basis for the legal status of the Jews in Poland.[7] Some Jews must also have lived in Volhynia during the fourteenth century, for in granting a privilege to Lithuanian Jewry in 1388, the Lithuanian duke Vitold extended it to the Jews of Volodymyr and Luts'k, as well. During the next century Jews are mentioned in several more places: Drohobych in Galicia; Halych, Rohatyn, and Pidhaitsi (Podhajce) within the Halych palatinate; Hrubeshiv in the Chełm (Kholm) region; and Kiev in the Ukraine (primarily, it seems, during the second half of the century).[8] The new settlers, some of whom were tax-farmers, sometimes gathered other Jews around them, thus laying the foundations for a community. Yet, the number of Jewish inhabitants continued to be small, as can be inferred from documents connected with the expulsion of Jews from Lithuania (1495) by the Archduke Alexander (later king of Poland). The lists of those in Volhynia and Kiev (then part of Lithuania) who converted to Christianity so as to be allowed to remain and of those expelled whose property was confiscated, as well as the account of their return and recovery of property (1503),

[6] Jehuda had forbidden gifts of food and the like to be given rabbis at weddings and similar occasions: this correspondence is found in *Responsa R. Meir b. Baruch of Rotenburg* [Hebrew], vol. 3 (L'viv, 1860), no. 112. See also Bernard D. Weinryb, *The Jews of Poland*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 24.

[7] For particulars, see Weinryb, *Jews of Poland*, pp. 33ff.

[8] Jakub Winkler, "Z dziejów Żydów w Drohobyczu," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* (hereafter *Biuletyn*), no. 71-72 (1969), pp. 39ff; Elżbieta Horn, "Położenie prawno-ekonomiczne Żydów w miastach ziemi Halickiej," *Biuletyn*, no. 40 (1961), p. 3.

contain very few names. This indicates that only small numbers lived in those areas.

During the next century and a half the Jewish population in Poland increased tremendously, with large numbers settling in the eastern and southeastern regions. Intensified pressure on Jews in the West (Bohemia, Germany, and Austria) frequently culminated in expulsion, forcing a great many to emigrate to Poland. Small numbers of Jewish settlers came from Spain (after 1492) and Italy, and possibly a few from Kaffa. Paralleling the augmentation of the Jewish population in Poland, possibly even accelerated by it, was the ever fiercer struggle of the non-Jewish burghers against Jews in the royal cities (the expulsion of Jews from Cracow to nearby Kazimierz in 1495 may be regarded as the beginning of this action). Some cities and towns won the right to exclude Jews (*de non tolerandis Judaeis*) and/or limit their economic activity. As a result, Jews migrated toward the east and southeast. In those areas city autonomy, based on Magdeburg law, came late and the guilds, organized somewhat more slowly than in ethnic Poland, were weaker and thus afforded their Jewish competitors greater leeway. Also, more non-royal cities and towns were built there, and the noblemen or magnates who owned them (as well as their officials) were less responsive to pressures from the artisans' guilds and merchants' associations, thus weakening the latter's monopoly. This situation became more common after the Union of Lublin in 1569, when most of the Ukraine was united with Poland and large tracts of land were granted to noblemen and magnates. These new landowners sought to attract settlers, including Jews, to their towns and cities by granting them various privileges. During the colonization of the Ukraine, Jews were given the opportunity to become leaseholders and managers of estates and towns, and to engage in various enterprises, such as toll- and tax-farming, the leasing of mills and fish ponds, etc.[9] Perhaps Nathan Hanover, the foremost Hebrew chronicler of that time, was not exaggerating unduly when he reported that "the Jews in the state of Rusia [Ukraine] who were [leaseholders] were rulers and lords in all the places of Rusia [Ukraine]."[10]

Although no reliable statistical data are available, there are indications that the Jewish population in these regions grew much faster than in ethnic Poland. In the Belz palatinate, for example, Jews lived

[9] See Weinryb, *Jews of Poland*, passim.
[10] Nathan Nata Hanover, *Yevein Metzulah* (Ein-Harod, 1944-45), p. 25.

in nine towns prior to 1565; by the first half of the seventeenth century they resided in more than twenty. During the fifteenth century only about a dozen Jews lived in three or four places in the Halych region; by 1569 there were ninety-five Jewish families in many others.[11] Jews are mentioned in Hebrew and other sources as living in about fifty locations in the Ukraine during the sixteenth century and in an additional sixty-five in the first half of the seventeenth century.[12] The following computations by Professor S. Ettinger reveal a considerable growth in the Jewish population.[13]

	ca. 1569		*ca. 1648*	
	No. of localities where Jews lived	No. of Jews	No. of localities where Jews lived	No. of Jews
Volhynia	13	3,000	46	15,000
Podillia	9	750	18	4,000
Kiev	—	—	33	18,825
Bratslav	2	—	18	13,500
Totals	24	3,750	115	51,325

The lives of Jews in the southern frontier regions developed somewhat differently than in Poland. The recurring Tatar incursions into the area persuaded the population, including the Jews, to join a defense militia headed by Polish officials (*starosty* and others). The settlers were obliged to drill regularly with guns and cannon, and organized groups, such as artisan guilds, were charged with the defense of certain sections of the city walls, the manning of cannons, and the securing of gunpowder.

Jewish participation in these defense activities is mentioned in the rabbinic responsa of the sixteenth century.[14] From the first half of

[11] M. Horn, "Żydzi województwa Bełzkiego w pierwszej połowie XVII w.," *Biuletyn*, no. 37 (1958), pp. 22-61; E. Horn, "Położenie prawno-ekonomiczne," pp. 5-19.

[12] Here we mean the palatinates of Volhynia, Podillia, Bratslav, and Kiev.

[13] S. Ettinger, "Jewish Participation in the Colonization of the Ukraine [Hebrew]," *Zion* 21 (1956): 107-124 ff. Translations of titles in Hebrew and Yiddish are by the author.

[14] *Responsa* are answers to questions asked by and of learned men or legal authorities. The questions were usually preserved along with their replies, thus forming documentary

the seventeenth century this information becomes much more abundant. We learn about the existence of a number of synagogue-fortresses (i.e., synagogues built with turreted fortresses surmounted by cannon which were to be manned by Jews). The one in Luts'k was built in this fashion because the king made it a condition (1626) for the construction of the synagogue. Other synagogue-fortresses existed in Luboml' (Volhynia), Sharhorod (Podillia), Brody, Ternopil', Zhovkva (Żółkiew), Terebovlia (Trembowla), Janov, Budzanov, and some other towns, usually those owned by the nobility.[15] Possibly there was also one in L'viv, which had two Jewish communities—one inside the city and the other outside its walls, in the suburb Krakowskie Przedmieście. Jews participated in the general defense of L'viv, as evidenced by a document dated 1626 in which an official attests: "the Jews are, in accordance with the old customs, participating actively in guarding and defending the city ... . Throughout the whole period the Jewish guards have done their duty day and night ... properly following the orders of the commanders."[16] In some places Jews served as commanders or co-commanders of military operations. In the city of Riashiv (Rzeszów), where all citizens, including Jews, were required to own a rifle and a specified amount of ammunition, one of the three commanders was a Jew, another was a burgher, and the third lived in the suburbs. Defense duties were later transferred to the artisan guilds, among them the Jewish artisan guild.

Frontier conditions in the south, the unsafe roads, the lurking danger of Tatar attacks and the likelihood of captivity had some impact upon the Jews. The various occupations with which they were associated—leaseholding, estate and town management, tax collecting, and toll-farming—offered Jew and non-Jew the opportunity to practice financial abuse (or to be accused of such) and to exercise control over the lives of the local population. For example, leaseholding was frequently linked with the exercise of certain legal powers: the right to adjudicate the people of a given estate or town and to pass even a death sentence was sometimes transferred from the owner to the leaseholder. This served to identify the Jew with the Polish landlord whom he represented. Also, the Jewish leaseholders and

material for historical research. See Bernard D. Weinryb, "Responsa as a Source for History," in *Essays presented to the Chief Rabbi Israel Brodie on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday* (London, 1967), pp. 399-417.

[15] E. Horn, "Położenie prawno-ekonomiczne," p. 28.

[16] M. Bałaban, *Żydzi lwowscy na przełomie XVI i XVII w.* (L'viv, 1906), pp. 98, 449.

tax-farmers could, and sometimes did, behave like the Polish landlords. Their attitudes were often influenced by the necessity to maintain good relations with the landlords and their administrators, including high state officials. All this served to bring some Jews closer to the life-style and behavior patterns of the non-Jew and to develop feelings of superiority, arrogance, and self-reliance among them.

The discrepancy between these Jews and the Christian stereotype of the Jew was noted by observers. Cardinal Commendoni, who made two journeys to Poland during the second half of the sixteenth century and who also visited the Ukraine, wrote that many Jews lived there and, unlike Jews in other regions, were not despised. On the contrary, they owned land, engaged in a large variety of occupations, and were prosperous, respected people. Outwardly, they did not differ from Christians; they were permitted to have swords and bear arms, and enjoyed rights similar to those of others. The self-assurance of these Jews sometimes resulted in arrogance toward the Jewish community and disdain for the rabbi.[17]

The Jews' involvement in widespread enterprises, most of which concerned the general population, brought about a certain laxity in the preservation of Jewish laws and traditions (non-observance of the holy Sabbath, use of leaven on Passover, hybridization of animals, feeding non-Jewish workers non-Kosher food, handling pigs or other non-Kosher animals, etc.).[18] Other Jews became lax about adherence to Jewish rituals as they participated with non-Jews in defense activities and quasi-military exercises. As mentioned above, this obligatory defense activity comprised training by non-Jews, periodic exercises in the use of weaponry, and responsibility for the defense of city walls on a par with other citizens, as well as the defense of the turreted synagogues built especially for defense purposes.

This mingling with non-Jews may have spread to some other areas of life in the Ukraine, where Jews were not segregated in ghettos and usually lived alongside Christians. The result was again a certain laxity in fulfilling the strict Jewish religious code. This may be sub-

[17] Mentioned is a leaseholder of royal revenues who first agreed to a decision of the Jewish court and later reneged on his agreement (1555), saying "I do not want to fulfill anything that Jews [the Jewish Court] decided. I wanted only to see if Jews would pronounce judgment upon me or what kind of Jew would force me to be adjudicated by them" (*Responsa Rabbi Solomon Luria*, no. 4 [Fürth, 1718]).

[18] Casuistically, some officially symbolic arrangements were made, such as the symbolic transfer of a business to a non-Jew, but from the complaints of the rabbis and preachers it would appear that these were only partially adhered to.

stantiated by several facts: in 1553 the Jews of Ostroh "forgot" to prepare the citron (*esrog*) and other items needed to celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles; meat was apparently not always prepared in proper Kosher fashion; and some Jews were gambling, drinking, and dancing on holy days.[19]

These forms of secularization in day-to-day life may also have been connected with the reported illiteracy among Jews, some of whom could not read one word of Hebrew. The latter may also have influenced the reported "loafing" and "crime" among Jews in the suburbs of L'viv, where they lived together with non-Jews and where, according to Balaban, Jewish thieves, highwaymen, and robbers joined non-Jews in attacking Jews and Christians alike.[20]

Some Jews apparently formed friendships with Ruthenians in the Ukraine. The writings of Nathan Hanover indicate that this was so, as does a story told by a rabbi from Volhynia about Christians borrowing clothing and jewelry from Jews to wear to church services and returning them promptly afterwards.[21] Jews also associated with the Cossacks. In his dramatization of the beginning of the Cossack revolt, Hanover created a Jewish character who befriends Khmel'nyts'kyi and advises him how to escape from jail.[22] There is evidence that some Jews joined the Cossacks in their sporadic raids and even became Cossacks themselves, sometimes remaining Jewish but more often converting to Christianity. Documentation of these occurrences ranges from an order forbidding Jews and burghers from taking part in Cossack raids (implying that they were doing so) to rabbinical sources reporting the death of a Jew during a raid and a Jewish woman's demand for a divorce because her husband participated in such raids. A Hebrew responsum mentions the untimely death of a Jewish Cossack hero, named Boruch or Bracha, who was killed in 1611 near Moscow; from the context we know that he was one of eleven Jews, but it is unclear whether the others were also Cossacks.[23] Jewish names appear in the Cossack registers of 1649 and earlier, while converted Jews are also mentioned as Cossacks in rabbinical sources. Other information indicates that in some places Jews under

[19] *Responsa Luria*, nos. 8, 20, 69, 94, 101; see also Weinryb, *Jews of Poland*, p. 89.
[20] Benjamin Solnik, *Responsa Mas'ot Benjamin* [Hebrew], no. 62; M. Bałaban, *Żydzi lwowscy*, pp. 213, 443ff., 504.
[21] Solnik, *Responsa Mas'ot Benjamin* [Hebrew], no. 86.
[22] Hanover, *Yevein Metzulah*, pp. 26ff.
[23] *Responsa Bach Hayeshanot* [Hebrew], no. 27; *Responsa of Meir of Lublin* [Hebrew], no. 137.

attack by the Cossacks (in 1648) "converted to Christianity and joined the Cossack forces"; certainly there were some converted Jews among the Cossacks in the Ukraine. A few of them may even have attained relatively high standing, as was indicated by a pastor from Stettin who accompanied a Swedish ambassador on a visit to the Ukraine (1657): after an audience with Khmel'nyts'kyi, he reported that the latter's treasurer was a baptized Jew.[24]

The relatively small measure of segregation in the Ukraine also led to cooperation between Jews and non-Jews in yet other activities. In Ukrainian cities and towns, Jews and non-Jews upon occasion acted jointly against non-residents by asking the authorities to limit the latter's economic possibilities (Luts'k 1576?) or joined forces against an attack by a nobleman or some other person (Lokachi 1588, Ternopil' 1614, Terebovlia 1646). On the other hand, the success of some Jews and their role in the economy antagonized Christian burghers and lower class nobles, who frequently complained that Jews overcharged in collecting tolls and other revenues. Their fear that the Jews were intent on destroying their businesses prompted a whole series of complaints, charging that the Jews were ruining the cities (Kovel' 1616), spreading out and harming trade (Kiev 1618), and monopolizing the markets (Pereiaslav 1620).[25] Other objections were that Jewish tax-farmers refused to allow the burghers to sell beer or other beverages (Zhytomyr 1622), that they ruined the market by overcharging on tolls, and that they spread out too far (Luts'k 1637, Terebovlia 1638, 1645). In 1647, almost on the eve of the Khmel'nyts'kyi revolt, the burghers of L'viv asked the bishop of Kamianets' to intercede for them before the Polish Diet and seek action to rescue "the poor city [living] on the last drop of blood" because of the Jews who had seized and ruined all business and reduced the city's income.[26] In fact, at the end of the sixteenth and during the first half of the seventeenth century several decrees, usually resulting from petitions by concerned groups, were issued limiting Jewish activity in the Ukraine.[27]

[24] Weinryb, *Jews of Poland*, pp. 186-187; W. Lipiński, *Z dziejów Ukrainy* (Kiev, 1912), p. 373. J. Shatzki, *Introduction to Yevein Metzulah in Gzeires Tach* [Yiddish] (Vilnius, 1938), pp. 12, 40-41, 124; S. I. Borovoi, "Natsional'no-osvoboditel'naia voina ukrainskogo naroda protiv polskogo vladichestva ...," *Istoricheskie zapiski* 3 (1940): 93, 103, 117.

[25] E. Horn in *Biuletyn*, no. 37, pp. 35, 30; *Regesty i nadpisi*, vol. 1, nos. 747, 752, 753, 757, 763, 813.

[26] *Regesty i nadpisi*, vol. 1, no. 867.

[27] S. Ettinger, "The Legal and Social Status of the Jews in the Ukraine from the 15th to the 17th century [Hebrew]," *Zion* 20 (1955): 150ff.

There is too little information to discern clearly the attitude of the Ukrainians toward the Jews and the extent to which they participated in anti-Jewish complaints. In cities such as L'viv, where the Ukrainians were themselves a minority (not necessarily numerically, but in terms of having no voice in the city council), neither they nor the Armenians, another minority, joined the Jews in demanding concessions from the city council. On the contrary, each group sought concessions for itself, although the Ukrainians joined the Armenians in complaining before the city council that the Jews were securing all the business in the city.[28] Their grievances, which stress how much worse they were treated than the Jews, give the impression of having arisen more from Christian teachings about the inferiority of Jews than from facts or a general striving for improved status. Also at about this time—that is, the 1640s—the Synod in Kiev decided to forbid Greek Orthodox women to serve as domestics for Jews.

The Ukrainian urban population no doubt included individuals with both anti- and pro-Jewish sentiments, for several documents mention cooperation between Jews and Christians. In Svynukha (Swinucha) Jews and Christians reacted in unison to a nobleman's attack, and in Lokachi they made a combined assault on a nobleman's court (1588). Similarly, in the first half of the seventeenth century Jews and burghers jointly defended Ternopil' from the attack of a nobleman's administrator (1614) and reacted against a nobleman in Terebovlia (1646). Burghers in Ternopil' and the city council in Rohatyn also actively defended Jews before the authorities.[29]

The peasants apparently identified Jews with their Polish oppressors although one occasionally finds a case where a peasant sought help from a Jew, even against the advice of his own clergyman. A few instances of conflict between Jews and the Greek Orthodox clergy are known to have occurred, as did instances when the clergy defended Jews.[30] But when the Polish overlord took a Jew's side against a Greek Orthodox clergyman, the latter often found an anti-Jewish "reason" for his humiliation.[31] Despite the Jews, or converts, among them, the Cossacks, too, were apparently not pro-Jewish and often behaved

[28] Bałaban, *Żydzi lwowscy*, p. 449.

[29] *Regesty i nadpisi*, vol. 1, no. 1588; E. Horn, "Położenie prawno-ekonomiczne."

[30] Ettinger, "Status of Jews," p. 148.

[31] This happened to a Greek Orthodox priest in Andreev (near Luts'k) who forbade his parishioners to buy meat from Jews (1647). A nobleman induced the Jews to take the priest to court, where he was convicted and fined thirty złoty (*Regesty i nadpisi*, vol. 1, no. 867).

hostilely toward them. Attacks on Jews occurred during the revolts of Taras (1630) and Pavliuk (1637-39), and in Lubien (Lubny) and Liakhovychi (Lachovice) hundreds of Poles and Jews were killed.[32]

Historians have observed that Jews living in other places and at other times, under rulers whom they, too, served as tax-farmers, contractors, leaseholders, and administrators, "were easily associated in the popular mind with the forces of governmental and class oppression ... they [non-Jews] saw first of all the immediate agents of oppression and struck at them whenever the latter became unbearable. The defenselessness of these [Jews] made them the more obvious targets of popular resentment as religious antagonisms had long prepared the ground for Jew-baiting demagogues."[33] Something of this may also have been true of the Polish-Cossack-Jewish relationship in Poland.

THE HEBREW CHRONICLES

The shock generated by the annihilation of tens of thousands of Jewish lives, the thousands of conversions to Christianity, and the suffering and destruction of hundreds of Jewish communities stimulated the writing of elegies, penitential hymns, dirges, and other commemorations of the dead. In the religious society of the Jews, these served to remember the departed, to pray for the forgiveness of sins (that were supposed to have led to all these tribulations), to ask God for deliverance from exile and, often, to call for revenge on their enemies. Such writings, usually composed in a ritualistic form, often described the incidents and circumstances that had caused Jewish suffering.[34]

As mentioned above, rabbinical responsa also provide us with various data. For example, according to Jewish law a woman whose husband had disappeared could obtain permission to remarry only upon the testimony, before the rabbinical court, of persons who had witnessed his death; such testimony described the circumstances involved, which were often violent ones. A number of memoirs, usually written years later by witnesses to some catastrophe, have

[32] Hanover, *Yevein Metzulah*, p. 22.
[33] *Regesty i nadpisi*, vol. 1, nos. 818, 820, 824.
[33] Salo W. Baron, "The Jewish Factor in Medieval Civilization," *Proceedings of the Academy for Jewish Research* 12 (1942): 39.
[34] Some excerpts are found in Jonas Gurland, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Judenverfolgungen* (reprint of *Beith Otzar Hasifrut*; Peremyšl', 1887).

also been preserved, and these, too, sometimes contain considerable historical data.

The mainstays of Jewish reporting on those years, however, are the Hebrew chronicles. Six of these are known to have been published:

1. Nathan Nata Hanover. *Yevein Metzulah*. Venice, 1653. (An English translation by Rabbi Abraham J. Mesch, entitled *Abyss of Despair*, appeared in New York in 1950; the booklet was also translated into Russian, Polish, Yiddish, French, and German.)

2. Meir Samuel of Szczebrzeszyn. *Zok Haitim* [Troubled times]. Cracow, 1650. (Later plagiarized, appearing in Venice in 1656 under an author named Joshua ben David of L'viv.)

3. Sabbatai Hakohen. *Megilat Eifo* [Scroll of gloom]. Amsterdam, 1651. (Originally published with *Selichot.*)

4. Gabriel ben Yehoshua Shusberg. *Petach Teshuva* [Gates of penitence]. Amsterdam, 1651.

5. Samuel Feivel ben Natan of Vienna. *Tit Hayavein* [The mire]. Amsterdam [1650].

6. Abraham ben Samuel Ashkenazi. *Zaar Bath Rabim* [Tribulations of the many]. Venice [n.d.].[35]

With one exception (no. 5), the chroniclers may be regarded as "participant observers," since they lived in Poland during the times they described, although most later fled.

The Hebrew chronicles may, in general, be regarded as the earliest written accounts of the events they describe. Published almost immediately (1650-1653), they were not "corrected" or "improved" under the impact of subsequent developments, as were most chronicles in other languages. Therefore, the facts and attitudes they contain may be considered contemporary with the events themselves.

There are differences in form, and partially in content and attitude, among the chronicles, although all are written in Hebrew (more exactly Hebrew-Aramaic, which is influenced by the language of the Talmud and other rabbinic writings). For instance, Samuel Feivel ben Natan's *Tit Hayavein* is essentially a list of locations with the number of persons killed in each, written in the following form: "Chmiel

[35] No scholarly edition of any of these booklets exists, although a number have been begun since the nineteenth century. The best Hebrew edition of Hanover's *Yevein Metzulah* is the one arranged by Israel Halperin and published in Israel in 1945. Bibliographical information about editions, translations, and excerpts is found in the appendix of Borovoi's "Natsionalno-osvoboditel'naia voina," pp. 121-124.

[Khmel'nyts'kyi] with his Cossacks went to ... where there were one hundred and fifty householders and almost all perished."[36] Another dissimilarity is that Meir of Szczebrzeszyn's *Zok Haitim* (no. 2) is written in a rhyme-like form while the others are generally in simple prose.

The intent of all the authors was to recount certain events and bring their sad message to Jewish survivors and refugees and those living in other lands. Since their viewpoint was that of the suffering Jews, they depicted the oppressors of the Jews as archenemies. In striking back with their pens, as it were, they were also trying to make a shattered world comprehensible to both themselves and to their people. One chronicler, Gabriel ben Jehoshua Shusberg, author of *Petach Teshuva* (no. 4), had another purpose, as well. As a religious Jew he believed that his people were persecuted because they had sinned and, as his title, which translates as "Gates of penitence," indicates, he was calling upon them to repent.[37] He considered it sinful that Jews kept inns with taverns and that Jewish sacred items were not being properly prepared. Therefore—possibly for shock effect—he warned his readers that in Bar some Jews were boiled in whiskey kettles as punishment for having served as informers and having libeled the rabbi and Jewish community leaders.[38]

Although the chroniclers wrote in Hebrew, their vernacular was Yiddish. Thus, they were "translating" into a literary form rather than writing in a living language. This sort of writing often creates the kind of "translation complex" known to historians in connection with the Latin of medieval European documents. The writer was likely to be less than precise in his expressions, since he tended to use literary clichés, metaphors, and certain concepts with little regard for their appropriateness in a given context. Also, most rabbinic writers of that time were unaware of the scientific developments among their European contemporaries. For example, even Hanover, apparently the most well-informed of the six chroniclers, knew no mathematics. Hence, it is not surprising that in referring to groups of people the chroniclers use biblical metaphors such as "thousands

[36] The names of many places are corrupted, possibly because the author was not familiar with the geography or with the Slavic language.
[37] Similarly, the events of 1939-1945 were viewed as "divine punishment" by some extremely orthodox individuals.
[38] Shusberg, *Petach Teshuva*, pp. 25, 31, 40.

and tens of thousands" or "as many as the grains of sand on the seashore," and that the figures they do mention are often meaningless.[39]

Writing in the traditional manner and using accepted allegories sometimes obscured the real meaning of a text or the real attitude of its author. For instance, there was a long-standing tradition in Jewish writing that every mention of an enemy be followed with a Hebrew acronym meaning "may his name be blotted out." Hanover adheres to this tradition in writing about Khmel'nyts'kyi whereas the other chroniclers generally do not. Yet, Hanover seems to have been the most tolerant of the six toward Khmel'nyts'kyi, at times seeking to modify his "case" against the Cossacks with "explanations" and excuses. It should also be noted that these authors had either been eyewitnesses of the massacres or spoken with others who had lived through them and escaped to the West. Their perceptions and attitudes must surely have been affected by this emotionally-charged, refugee atmosphere.[40] Indeed, as we shall see, the chronicles' main value may lie more in the attitudes and orientations they divulge than in the facts they relate.

The somewhat pro-Polish orientation of Jews may have become firmer during the years of tribulation and the aftermath,[41] since they

[39] See below for differing totals on the number of victims. There are also discrepancies about the numbers killed in certain cities and about the sizes of the various armies. For these see Weinryb, *Jews of Poland*, p. 362. It may also well be that "participant observers" in any great catastrophe live through the event psychologically "outside of time and outside reality," so that any figures they remember are unrealistic. At any rate, one researcher who interviewed survivors of the Hitler holocaust maintained that "accounts given of the number of deportees, number of dead, etc., are nearly always unreliable" (K. Y. Ball-Kadury, "Evidence of Witnesses: Its Value and Limitations," in *Yad Vashem Studies* 3 [Jerusalem, 1959]: 3, 84.)

[40] Hanover's psychological and socioeconomic situation at the time he wrote and published the booklet may be gauged by the end of his introduction. Although he had found some temporary shelter in a private "house of study," he may have been needy, for he advertises his "commodity" and asks the public to purchase his work. He writes: "I dealt at length on the causes which led to this catastrophe, when the Ukrainians revolted against Poland and united with the Tatars, although the two have always been enemies. I recorded all the major and minor encounters... also the days on which those cruelties occurred, so that everyone might be able to calculate the day on which his kin died and observe the memorial properly... I have written this in a lucid and intelligible style and printed it on smooth and clear paper. Therefore buy ye this book at once, do not spare your money so that I may be enabled to publish [another book]" (Hanover, Hebrew, pp. 16-17; English, p. 25). (Quotations from Hanover's work are cited by "Hebrew" to indicate the Halperin edition, translated by this author, and "English" to indicate the Mesch translation. The wording of the latter has in places been modified by this author).

[41] See Weinryb, *Jews of Poland*, pp. 156-176.

felt that Jews and Poles had a sort of mutual destiny and both had suffered comparable losses. And, after all, no other group was prepared to defend Jews—neither the Cossacks, the Moscovite Russians (the tsar had given orders that Jewish refugees not be permitted across the border), the Swedes, nor any other group. In those cities that refused to admit the Cossacks or to surrender their Jews (L'viv, Zamostia [Zamość], Zhovkva, Buchach [Buczacz], Komarno, Brody), the Poles were usually responsible. Jewish survivors and refugees also became nostalgic about their real or fancied former glory in Poland,[42] and apparently had a psychological need to continue to rely on Poles or Christians generally.[43] Hanover emphasizes the strong bond between Poles and Jews and explains it in two different contexts, with differing explanations. In telling the story of how Kryvonis took Tul'chyn in June 1648, and how both Poles and Jews were killed despite an understanding that the Poles would be let alone, he says:

When the nobles heard of this they were stricken with remorse and henceforth supported the Jews and did not deliver them into the hands of the criminals. And even though the Ukrainians repeatedly promised the nobles immunity they no longer believed them. Otherwise no Jew would have survived.[44]

Hanover's second explanation regards the "information service" the Jews allegedly organized. He says that during a lull in the war, Khmel'nyts'kyi sent letters to the nobility expressing regret for having initiated the war and advising them to return to their estates. At the same time, the Cossacks, who were planning a new offensive, dispatched secret messages to the Ukrainians exhorting them to prepare to kill all Poles and Jews alike:

When the thing became known to the Jews through their friendly Ukrainian neighbors and also through their own spies who had been placed in all their settlements, they notified the noblemen. Immediately messages were sent forth from community to community by means of horse riders informing the Jews and the nobles of daily developments. In recognition of this the nobles

[42] Hanover ends his book with a chapter describing this "glory": many of the elegies contain such short descriptions of the lost "goods," mostly referring to possibilities for prayer and study in pre-1648 Poland.

[43] By contrast, Jewish survivors of World War II tended to distrust Christian society, as is expressed in the statement: "Every cynical sign [by Christians] of sympathy would only desecrate the holy shadows of our martyrs," quoted in Peter Meyer, B.D. Weinryb et al., *The Jews in the Soviet Satellites* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1953), p. 245.

[44] Hanover, Hebrew, p. 43.

befriended the Jews exceedingly and became united with them in one union ... had it not been for this action there would have been no stand for the Jewish remnant.[45]

Hanover's account of Count Jeremi Wiśniowiecki's activities at this time must have been an exaggeration, for he gives the impression that Wiśniowiecki made rescuing the Jewish population his principal endeavor:

Count Jeremi Wiśniowiecki was a friend of Israel ... with him escaped some five hundred Jews. He carried them as on the wings of eagles until they were brought to their destination [reported as Wiśniowiecki left for Lithuania].[46]

Later we are also told that after the Nemyriv onslaught Wiśniowiecki set out with a command of 3,000 men to revenge the Jews. Clearly, Hanover considered Wiśniowiecki the greatest of generals, one who should have become commander of the Polish army. The chronicler believed that this was prevented by the intrigues of Khmel'nyts'kyi or the Polish commander Ladislas Dominik (apparently he had heard something about their differing attitudes), and even attributed Wiśniowiecki's sudden death to poisoning by his enemies (there were, it seems, rumors to this effect in some Polish circles).

In our context the factual accuracy of these stories is irrelevant. What is important is the kinds of attitude they reflect. Obviously, at least some Jews believed they could rely on support from the Polish ruling class and identified themselves with the Poles: "God was with us and the king" writes Hanover about the 1651 victory near Berestechko (Beresteczko).[47] Aside from the attitudes that Hanover and other chroniclers have preserved, some factual information is to be gained if we compare certain events as reported by Hanover with documented accounts, as, for example, the following versions about the Zboriv Peace (1649):

HANOVER'S VERSION	DOCUMENTARY INFORMATION
After relating the Polish army's difficulties near Zbarazh and Zboriv, Hanover reports that Adam Jerzy Ossoliński [Lublin's *starosta*] was sent to the Tatar king to ask for peace. It was agreed that the Polish king would pay him	Official materials, comprising a diary from the front and some correspondence, tell about a letter Khmel'nyts'kyi wrote to the king seeking forgiveness and requesting to be taken back by Poland. He offered the excuse that the

[45] Hanover, Hebrew, pp. 43, 35; English, pp. 58, 47.
[46] Hanover, Hebrew, p. 30.
[47] Hanover, Hebrew, p. 80.

200,000 gold pieces and when Khmel'nyts'kyi [*Chmiel*] heard this he began to fear for his life. He went to Zboriv and kneeling at the king's feet tearfully declared that "all that he had done was caused by the nobles themselves." He broached many subjects but the king was too proud to converse with him and replied through an intermediary [Hanover proceeds to give some details about the conditions agreed upon].

starosta's oppression had caused him to do what he had done. He later sent representatives who officially sought the king's pardon. The latter replied in the affirmative on the same day, and Khmel'nyts'kyi arrived a few days later for the ceremony of swearing loyalty to the king. In a later letter the king addresses Khmel'nyts'kyi as "my faithful one (*wierny*)."

This comparison shows that Hanover's report and official or semi-official versions agree, except on a few minor details. One gets the same impression in comparing accounts of the defeat of the Tatars and Khmel'nyts'kyi's army at Berestechko two years later (28-30 June 1651).

HANOVER'S VERSION

"The Polish army prevailed and reinforced ... they struck a severe blow at the Tatars and Ukrainians. The Tatar king escaped to his land .... He took the oppressor (*Chmiel*) with him into captivity because the latter did not inform him of the strength of the Polish king's army. High-ranking Tatar soldiers and the nephew of the Tatar king became prisoners of the Polish king. Cossack forces escaped in the evening, leaving the whole camp intact ... [Later Hanover relates how Khmel'nyts'kyi paid the Tatars a high ransom for his release]."

DOCUMENTARY INFORMATION
(including diaries, letters to the prince in Warsaw, official documents)

After the defeat the Tatar khan is known to have fled with Khmel'nyts'kyi and a small group following him. The themes of Khmel'nyts'kyi's being taken captive by the Tatars and the khan's anger at the Cossack's deception about the size of the Polish army appear in these documents in various forms. One piece says that Khmel'nyts'kyi followed the khan as either a captive or a free man, while several others state definitely that he was a captive. Also the "fact" of Khmel'nyts'kyi's having fooled the khan about the size of the Polish army is repeated in several documents. A corollary to Hanover's tale about Khmel'nyts'kyi's release is found (without mention of the high ransom he was forced to pay) in a message from the hospodar of Moldavia to Hetman Potocki, saying that the khan departed for the Crimea leaving Khmel'nyts'kyi behind "together with 100 horsemen."[48]

[48] The material is from *Dokumenty ob osvoboditel'noi voine ukrainskogo naroda, 1648-1654* (Kiev, 1965), nos. 104, 161, 163, 173, 211, 215, 217, 220, 222, 231-34, 236-37.

Of course, it is not our task here to determine Khmel'nyts'kyi's situation after Berestechko. What does concern us is that, again, the facts in Hanover's tale do not differ significantly from those in official or semi-official accounts. Although three of the other five Hebrew chroniclers also show pro-Polish sympathies, their works, by contrast, modify the facts considerably, due in part to their different writing styles (this also applies to their stories about Wiśniowiecki).

The only author who seems to have been anti-Polish is Gabriel ben Yehoshua Shusberg (no. 4), who sometimes uses derogatory terms ("wicked" or "villainous") in references to Poles or noblemen. He is also more emphatic in stressing the treachery of the Poles in the few cities where they deceived the Jews. For example, his account of the Jews' flight from Ostroh toward Dubno (Sabbath, 26 July 1648) is told from a different viewpoint than Hanover's, who was among those fleeing. Shusberg writes that "Polish noblemen together with a group of wicked men aroused a false fear among the fleeing Jews in order to be able to rob them and seize their wagons." Writing about the ransom L'viv paid to Khmel'nyts'kyi, he reports that the city council and the noblemen wanted to surrender the city's Jews to Khmel'nyts'kyi, but the Jewish representative persuaded them not to do so; instead, the Jews paid 200,000 złoty as ransom. Actually, the Jews paid only a part of the ransom; the larger portion was paid by the city.[49]

KHMEL'NYTS'KYI, THE COSSACKS, AND THE UKRAINIANS

Hanover was the only Hebrew chronicler to analyze the reasons for the Ukrainian Cossack revolt. He believed that these were two: the oppression of the Greek Orthodox Ukrainians, and the role of Jews as tax-farmers and estate managers. The latter, he claimed, "ruled in every part of Rusia [the Ukraine], a condition which aroused the jealousy of the peasants and resulted in the massacres." He believed that religious oppression was responsible for the impoverishment of the masses: "they were looked upon as lowly and inferior beings and became the slaves and handmaids of the Polish people and the Jews." Hanover wrote that, except for the Cossacks, "the Ukrainians were a wretched and enslaved lot, servants of the dukes and the nobles. The nobles levied heavy taxes upon them and some even resorted to

[49] Shusberg, *Petach Teshuva*, pp. 34, 38, 41.

cruelty and torture."[50] His assessment of the causes for the Cossack uprising is, of course, very similar to what others were saying, including the Ukrainians. For Hanover, however, understanding by no means meant acquiescence: he seems to have put the matter aside as he goes on to tell more about the attacks on the Jews.

Although, as we have mentioned, Hanover usually calls Khmel'nyts'kyi "oppressor" and often adds the Hebrew formula "may his name be blotted out" that was customary in Hebrew rabbinic writing when speaking about an enemy, one of his stories indicates that Jews not only informed on Khmel'nyts'kyi, but also advised and helped him. An informer, says Hanover, was Zekharia Sobilenki, "the governor and administrator of Chyhyryn"; a close friend was the Jew, Jacob Sobilenki. Hanover's story begins by describing the Cossack's confrontation with the Poles. (Apparently Hanover did not know about the role of Czapliński or that of a woman named Helena.) According to him, Khmel'nyts'kyi was a very wealthy Cossack officer from Chyhyryn, owning sheep, oxen, and cattle, "a man of sinister design, sly, and mighty at war." Before his death General Stanislas Koniecpolski told his son, Alexander, to have Khmel'nyts'kyi killed. When Alexander married, he and his bride traveled to Chyhyryn, ostensibly to collect some wedding gifts but actually to plan an attack on the Tatars. In Chyhyryn Alexander seized half of Khmel'nyts'kyi's wealth, and in retaliation the latter informed the Tatars of Koniecpolski's designs. The Jew Zekharia, having overheard Khmel'nyts'kyi boasting about his contact with the Tatars, informed Koniecpolski. Alexander had Khmel'nyts'kyi arrested and left orders that he be beheaded. However, when Cossack officers visited him in jail, Khmel'nyts'kyi persuaded them to plan his rescue. Hanover dramatized this meeting with the following speech by Khmel'nyts'kyi, which may have been intended to reflect some general attitudes among the Cossack leadership of the time:

Why are you keeping silent? Know that the people of Poland are becoming more haughty each day. They enslave our people with hard work ... . Not only are the nobles our masters, but even the lowliest of all nations [the Jews] rule over us. Today this is being done to me; tomorrow they will do it to you. Afterwards they will plow the field with our people as one plows with oxen. If you heed my counsel, you will approach the officer of the thousand and plead with him to release me in your custody, on the occasion of the festival of baptism, which is to be held tomorrow. At night you and I will escape, together with

[50] Hanover, Hebrew, p. 50.

our belongings, by way of the ferry boats behind the Dnieper. There we will take counsel together as to what to do against the Polish people.[51]

Hanover goes on to describe the collusion that Khmel'nyts'kyi arranged with the Tatars and their initial successes in the spring of 1648, which resulted in a number of Polish nobles, among them the former secretary of General Koniecpolski, joining the Cossacks.

In relating the Cossack-Tatar conquests, Hanover, like the other Hebrew chroniclers, describes the atrocities perpetrated against the Jews and the Poles. He also emphasizes that the Tatars, unlike the Cossacks, did not kill their Jewish captives but brought them to Constantinople for ransoming. Another favorite theme is that the Cossacks' victories were due to their deceit and cunning, an example of which was Khmel'nyts'kyi's flight from Chyhyryn. Thus, in the summer of 1648, during the first lull in the fighting and the interregnum in Poland following King Ladislas's death, Khmel'nyts'kyi sent messages of sympathy and peace to the Polish nobles at the suggestion of his advisers, while simultaneously organizing the Tatars and Ukrainians for battle. At Nemyriv, the Cossacks devised flags resembling the Polish ones and thus tricked the Jews who were defending the fortress into opening its gates. The Poles and Jews of Tul'chyn acted cooperatively and successfully repulsed the attacks of Khmel'nyts'kyi's army. However, Kryvonis convinced the Poles that they would not be harmed if they surrendered the city's Jews and their possessions. After Tul'chyn's Jews had been killed, the Cossacks devastated the city and murdered all its Poles. In Polonne, Ukrainian mercenaries called *haiduky*, who lived nearby and were to defend the city walls, defected, allowing the Cossacks to capture the stronghold.

At times, maintains Hanover, only trickery saved Khmel'nyts'kyi and his army from total destruction. In describing an important battle near Konstantyniv, Hanover emphasizes that the Ukrainians were being badly beaten until Khmel'nyts'kyi rescued the situation by cunningly asking for a one-day respite, knowing that Tatar reinforcements were on their way; when these arrived, the Poles were forced to flee. Khmel'nyts'kyi also prevented the appointment of Wiśniowiecki as chief commander by convincing the Tatars to release the Polish commanders they held prisoner.

But Hanover also relates some positive things about the Cossacks. For example, he tells how Khmel'nyts'kyi and the Cossacks sold booty

[51] Hanover, Hebrew, p. 57.

from Wallachia to Jews during a period of peace, although he is unclear just when this occurred. His depiction of urban Ukrainians is at times positive, at others, negative. About one town he writes that the Ukrainians "appear as friends of the Jews and speak to them pleasantly and comfortingly, but lie and are deceitful and untrustworthy"; elsewhere, he speaks of Ukrainians who are "neighbors and friends." The dichotomy holds as Hanover speaks about specific cases. He writes that the residents of Nemyriv (Nemirov) aided the Cossacks because they hated the Jews and that some Jews from Zaslav (Zasław) hid in the woods, hoping in vain for rescue as their Ukrainian neighbors caught and killed them. In Bar, Ukrainians allegedly burrowed beneath the city walls to let Cossacks into the city. Yet, when some three hundred Jewish refugees arrived at Tul'chyn, the city's Ukrainians came to their aid. In an account of their flight north from Zaslav, Hanover says that Jews stayed overnight in inns owned by Ukrainians, always fearing the worst, which, by implication, never happened.[52]

The passages we have dealt with cover only a part of what the chronicler promised us in his introduction, namely, "the causes leading to this great catastrophe and its ramifications." The remainder of the chronicle is a record of encounters, pogroms, and persecutions. Like other religious Jews, Hanover considered martyrdom for the faith a noble ideal in Jewish life.[53] His account of the destruction of the Jewish community in Nemyriv (10 June 1648) illustrates this point. He writes that as the Jews saw troops approaching, they

went with their wives and infants, with their silver and gold, and locked and barred the doors, prepared to fight. What did those evil-doers, the Cossacks, do? They devised flags resembling those of the Poles, for the only way to distinguish between the Cossack and the Polish forces is by their banners. Though the people in the city were fully aware of this trickery, they nevertheless called out to the Jews in the fortress: "Open the gate, this is a Polish army here to save you from your enemies should they come." The Jews who were standing guard on the wall, seeing that the flags were like those of Poland, believed that the people of the city spoke the truth. They immediately opened the gate. No sooner was the gate open than the Cossacks entered with drawn swords, and the townspeople, too, armed with swords, spears, and scythes, and some only with clubs, and they killed the Jews in large numbers. Women and young girls were ravished, but some of the women and maidens jumped into the moat surrounding the fortress in order that the uncircumcized should

[52] Hanover, Hebrew, pp. 24, 34, 37, 52, 59, 79.

[53] This phenomenon apparently arose among Jews because severe persecution was often connected with a demand for religious conversion. In early Christianity, too, martyrdom for the faith was recognized as a high ideal.

not defile them, and they drowned. Many of those who were able to swim jumped into the water believing they would escape the slaughter, but the Ukrainians swam after them and with their swords and their scythes killed them in the water.

Hanover also tells the story of an illustrious rabbi caught by a Ukrainian but released in exchange for gold and silver; the next day, however, the rabbi and his mother were murdered by "a Ukrainian shoemaker, one of the townspeople." The following is one of his two tales about Jewish girls who willingly became martyrs for their faith:

It happened there that a beautiful maiden, from a renowned and wealthy family, had been captured by a certain Cossack who forced her to be his wife. But, before they lived together, she cunningly told him that she possessed a certain magic and that no weapon could harm her. She said to him: "If you do not believe me, just test me. Shoot at me with a gun, and you will see that I will not be harmed." The Cossack, her husband, in his simplicity, thought she was telling the truth. He shot at her with his gun and she fell and died for the sanctification of the Name of God, to avoid being defiled by him, may God avenge her blood.[54]

The other Hebrew chroniclers are far less explicit. Samuel Feivel ben Natan (*Tit Hayavein*) simply lists certain cities and their number of Jews killed. Sabbatai Hakohen (*Megilat Eifo*) mentions the troubles very briefly, but reacts sharply against the "misdeeds" of the Ukrainians, damning them for their revolt against the Poles as well as for their trickery and cruel treatment of the Jews; yet, he believes that all of the Jews' misfortunes were sent by God's providence. Shusberg, as we have noted, also elaborates on this theme and adds that these are God's retribution for specific sins committed by Jews. Meir of Szczebrzeszyn, the first chronicler to be published (1650), uses facts similar to those of Hanover, which may indicate that the latter copied his data.

The Hebrew chronicles should not be considered completely reliable historical documents. Certainly the figures they contain are often inaccurate, both for the size of various armies (apparently no more exaggerated, however, than figures in contemporary Polish sources) and for the numbers of victims. Between the years 1651 and 1655, for example, the chronicles mention the following numbers:

1. Hanover: killed—over 80,000; died in epidemics—41,000 (or 141,000?); taken prisoner by the Tatars—20,000.

3. Sabatai Hakohen: killed—100,000.

[54] Hanover, Hebrew, pp. 37-40, 51.

4. Gabriel ben Yehoshua: destroyed—more than 1,000 Jewish communities.

5. Samuel Feivel ben Natan: destroyed—140 (or 262?) Jewish communities; killed—670,000 (or 60,070?) householders together with their wives and children. (This would amount to some 2,4000,000-3,300,000 persons [4-5 per family], an impossible figure for a Jewish population estimated to number 170,000 to 480,000 on the eve of Khmel'nyts'kyi's revolt.)

6. Abraham ben Samuel: destroyed—744 Jewish communities.

Two of the chroniclers also allude to Ukrainians victimized by the Tatars. Meir of Szczebrzeszyn mentions that the Tatars killed Ukrainian villagers as they left after the Zboriv agreement, while Hanover has a longer story in this vein. He tells of the "forceful revenge" the Tatars took on "Ukrainians in the towns and villages" in Volhynia and Podillia: "Some of them they killed by the sword and tens of thousands they took prisoner. There remained only those who hid in the woods and marshes."[55] When speaking about the situation after the Zboriv agreement, Hanover also points out the troubles of the Ukrainians. He maintains that the poor Ukrainians "died in the thousands and tens of thousands" from hunger "since the Cossacks and the Tatars robbed them of all their money and possessions. And some of the rich Ukrainians fled to the Cossacks beyond the Dniepr River and some others buried their money in order to hide it from the Polish nobles."[56] Indeed, it is highly likely that all the figures mentioned in the chronicles, including the "tens of thousands of Ukrainian prisoners," are exaggerated.[57]

[55] The information about Tatars killing Ukrainians apparently reflects both the actual facts and the peasants' resentment of Khmel'nyts'kyi because he allowed the Tatars to kill and take prisoners among them; Mykhailo Hrushevs'kyi reported a reflection of this in a Ukrainian folk song (see his *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 9 (New York, 1957), pp. 552, 663, 895 ff.). In general, Hrushevs'kyi differentiated between the peasants who distrusted the Cossack leaders and the leaders themselves, who had the political interests of all classes at heart. See also the views presented in a recent American Ph.D. thesis: I. Linda Gordon, "Revolutionary Banditry: An Interpretation of the Social Roles of the Ukrainian Cossacks in their First Revolution," Yale University, 1970.

[56] Hanover, Hebrew, p. 76.

[57] It seems that Hanover was generally inexperienced in handling large numbers: for him 18 times 100,000 became 18,000,000, rather than 1,800,000. Inaccurate figures are also found in other contexts. Hanover tells of "about 300 Jews" who survived the slaughter in Tul'chyn (1648), while a Jewish eyewitness puts the number of the survivors at 13 (Hanover, Hebrew, p. 43; *Responsa Avodath Hagershuni* [Hebrew], no. 106). Also, the number of Jewish prisoners taken by the Tatars he reports is

The real historical value of the chronicles lies in the clues they offer about not only Jewish attitudes, but those of the Ukrainians and the Poles. They are sometimes even more revealing than Ukrainian and Polish materials, which were written from the viewpoint of a participating group or class, whereas the Jewish chronicles were composed from the outside, as it were. For instance, the Ukrainian chronicles figure the injustices suffered by the Cossacks as a major cause of their revolt, but the Jewish chronicles also note the exploitation of the peasantry. Meir of Szczebrzeszyn emphasizes that the strongest opposition to the Zboriv agreement came from the peasants, who "heard about the compromise and trembled. They had revolted against their lords and the latter had been forced to move away. But should the lords return, they will take revenge on the peasants." Shusberg accords the peasants yet another important role: "The village people conspired with the traitors for years and none of them revealed the secret. Therefore they prevailed and triumphed."

The Jewish aspects of the chronicles are, of course, more prominent, not only in descriptions of calamities and information on other matters, but also in accounts of contemporary attitudes and reactions.[58] One might justifiably identify each chronicle with certain trends prevailing among the Jews. There were those who thought in purely traditional terms: God punished the Jews for their sins and thus penitence was in order. Others acknowledged Jewish sinfulness, too, but emphasized the wickedness of the attackers and reacted to their derision and mockery of the Jewish religion by denouncing the detractors as traitors (but not by vilifying the Greek Orthodox religion).

under question (Israel Halperin, *Eastern European Jewry* [Hebrew] [Tel-Aviv, 1968], p. 248). What is said here about the Hebrew chronicles also holds true for the contemporary Polish sources and, apparently, for Tatar materials, as indicated by a chronicle published in recent years (Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, *Historia Chana Islama Gereja III*, [Warsaw, 1971]). In all this sort of material the large figures may not have been meant as exact numbers, but rather as a metaphor for such phrases as "a great many" or "a large amount" (as in Turkish 40,000 until recently meant "a large number" generally, rather than the specific figure.) The exaggerated figures of the Hebrew chronicles seem to be symbols of the "great calamity" or "tremendous affliction" to which the writers reacted in the different ways indicated here.

58 In general, Hanover points out the role of Jewish fighters (mentioning "hundreds" in a few places and a "thousand" in another) who defended or co-defended certain places (Nemyriv, Tul'chyn and others) and at times even joined Polish forces in revenging the rebels. While this sounds plausible, his account raises a problem: in designating the fighters as "poor" (meaning poverty-stricken), does he imply that wealthy Jews hired their poorer brethren to serve as their substitutes in the defense system?

The more "sophisticated" Jews, represented by Meir of Szçzebrzeszyn and Nathan Hanover, examined the causes behind the calamities the Jews suffered, both within their own communities and in the outside world. With minor exceptions, they attributed pro-Polish sentiments to the Jews and regarded their treatment by the Poles as more just than unjust.

Jewish attitudes and beliefs during those times may well have influenced the constant attempts of the Jews in Western Ukraine to return to their old homes whenever possible. Hanover indicates that they came back during each lull in the Cossack-Polish wars, thus subjecting themselves to more suffering whenever the next crisis arose. This means that Jewish survivors and refugees of the mid-seventeenth century behaved very differently from those of the twentieth century, who generally did not wish to return to their former homes after the Hitler holocaust. If a historian may be allowed to speculate across a span of three centuries, one might say that the reason for this difference lies both in the measure of the events involved and in Jewish attitudes toward the Christian world and the post-catastrophe regimes. The seventeenth-century disasters were far less "total" than the Hitler holocaust; their survivors continued to identify with the surrounding Christian world and an unchanged form of government. The situation in the postwar years of the mid-twentieth century was different in all these respects. One should also recognize that in the twentieth century emigration to other countries became more feasible for many peoples, including the Jews. With the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, Jewish refugees gained an alternative about which their seventeenth-century forefathers could, at best, only have dreamt.

THE COSSACK EXPERIMENT IN *SZLACHTA* DEMOCRACY IN THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH: THE HADIACH (*HADZIACZ*) UNION

ANDRZEJ KAMIŃSKI

The successful Cossack uprising of 1648 brought in its wake a peasant rebellion in the southeast territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi took advantage of this rebellion to complete the abolition of the *de facto* oligarchy there and to replace it with the rule of the Cossack Army. The present study analyzes this process and the attempts of the Cossack *starshyna* to take part in the *szlachta* democracy which existed in the Commonwealth.

In the Ukrainian palatinates (*województwa*) of Kiev, Bratslav (Bracław), and Chernihiv (Czernichów), the number of *szlachta* (nobles) was smaller than in the rest of the Commonwealth: the average for the whole country was 8 to 10 percent of the population, rising in some parts of Mazovia to 25 percent, but in the Kiev palatinate the *szlachta* comprised only about 1 percent of the population.[1] There were overwhelming differences in wealth between the majority of the *szlachta* and the handful of magnates who had private armies and held a virtual monopoly on important military and administrative posts. In the Kiev palatinate, for example, Jeremi Wiśniowiecki (Vyshnevets'kyi) had 38,000 households with 230,000 serfs; in Bratslav, Stanisław Koniecpolski owned 18,548 households of the 64,811 for the whole palatinate.[2]

This situation differed from that in Sandomierz, Cracow, Mazovia, and the palatinates of Great Poland. There the growth of latifundia

[1] *Historia Polski*, ed. T. Manteuffel, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Warsaw, 1958), p. 417. According to I.P. Krypiakevych (*Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi* [Kiev, 1954], p. 16), there were 215 *szlachta* landowners in the Bratslav palatinate and 400 *szlachta* landowners in the Kiev palatinate. If these numbers are multiplied by 5 (a probable average family), then the percentage of *szlachta* which results is less than 0.5 in Bratslav and less than 1 in Kiev. We do not know the number of landless *szlachta* in those palatinates.

[2] Krypiakevych, *Khmel'nyts'kyi*, pp. 18-19; Z. Wójcik, *Dzikie Pola w ogniu* (Warsaw, 1968), p. 140.

was not as rapid and owners of one to five villages had an influence on the local diets (*sejmiki*). For generations the *szlachta* of those lands were accustomed to fighting fiercely for their rights and were suspicious of both the king and the magnates.

As part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (until 1569), the Ukrainian palatinates (Kiev, Bratslav, Chernihiv) did not experience the "execution of law" movement, and neither the economic nor political power of their magnates was ever seriously challenged. Not only the owners of just a few villages, but even some Crown officials who possessed extensive latifundia sought protection from one of these Ukrainian "kinglets." For without such protection, neither life nor property was assured.

In such a situation, the petty nobles of the Kiev, Bratslav, and Chernihiv palatinates, overwhelmingly Orthodox and overshadowed by the magnates, felt closer socially and culturally to the Cossacks. They sided with the Zaporozhian Host that from the end of the sixteenth century was the center of Cossack life. Many nobles served with the Cossacks before 1648, and still more joined Khmel'nyts'kyi at the time of the uprising.[3] The Zaporozhian Host offered the *szlachta* both protection and the chance for enrichment. This development, however, evoked loyalties different from those of the Commonwealth *szlachta.*

Throughout the seventeenth century a hereditary upper stratum, called the *starshyna*, was developing among the Cossacks. Most of its members were Registered Cossacks—that is, those who were on the payroll of the Crown Army. The number of Registered Cossacks was left to the discretion of the Diet (*Sejm*), whose deputies usually voted for increases in the Cossack regiments when they anticipated war and then demanded severe cuts in the Cossack payroll in peacetime. Those who were left out of the register naturally became discontented and would often stir up popular uprisings in the Ukraine. Registered Cossacks (in 1590 their number was around 1000; by 1638, it had risen to 6000) represented only a small fraction of the people who led the "Cossack way of life"; therefore, the Commonwealth had no trouble amassing an army of 20,000 Cossacks in 1617. The Constitution of 1638 explicitly required that all Cossacks *not* registered be treated

[3] The most interesting study on *szlachta* service in the Zaporozhian Host and their participation in the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising is W. Lipiński, "Stanisław Michał Krzyczewski," in *Z dziejów Ukrainy* (Kiev and Cracow, 1912), pp. 157-328. See also W. Tomkiewicz, "O składzie społecznym Kozaczyzny Ukrainnej na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku," *Przegląd Historyczny* 37 (1948): 249-260.

as commonfolk, i.e. peasants (*w chłopy obrócone pospólstwo*), and deprived the Registered Cossacks of their autonomy and privileges. Indeed, it was from the time of the constitution's enactment that the *starshyna*, as well as all other Cossack groups, was ready to fight for Cossack rights.

The *starshyna* was not part of the *szlachta* democracy, although some of its members were of noble origin or had been ennobled for service in military campaigns. Nevertheless, through the power and military strength of the Zaporozhian Host, their position in society was similar to that of the *szlachta* in the rest of the Commonwealth. They regarded themselves as noble knights, traced their descent from Jesophat and from the *druzhyna* of the Kievan state, and were sometimes called Cossack Sarmatians.[4]

As self-appointed defenders of the Orthodox faith, the Cossacks found an ally in the Church's powerful hierarchy, whose members were socially close to the *starshyna* and were in the same inferior position to the Catholic hierarchy as the *starshyna* was to the *szlachta*. Because of that inferiority and the oligarchic system prevailing in the Ukrainian palatinates the sense of common Cossack identity and Orthodox faith overrode the social differences between the *starshyna* and ordinary Cossacks, and between the black clergy (monks, from whose ranks the hierarchy was chosen) and the white clergy (parish priests). When the Cossacks' revolt began, nearly the whole society —from noble to peasant—joined in the fight against the common enemies: Wiśniowiecki, Koniecpolski and the oligarchic system through which they exercised power.

The oligarchs' position was based on influence at court, control of local administration, strong private armies, and manipulation of Cossack regiments and leaders. To the Crown and to the Lithuanian nobility they represented themselves as defenders of the eastern frontiers and preservers of *szlachta* dominance over the Cossacks and other

[4] With reference to the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising, L. Baranovych wrote in 1671:

> "Pożal się Boże nieszczęsnej godziny,
> Że się sarmackie z sobą tłukły syny"

[Grieve O God for the unhappy hour when the Sarmatians' sons were fighting each other]. Citation from R. Łużny, *Pisarze kręgu Akademii Kijowsko-Mohylańskiej a literatura polska* (Cracow, 1966), p. 154; S. Velychko, "Skazanie o voine Kozatskoi z Poliakami ...," in *Ukrains'ka akademiia nauk / Istorychno-filolohichnyi viddil* (Kiev, 1926), p. 1; M. Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 1 (Kiev and L'viv, 1913), p. 144; O. Ohloblyn, *Dumky pro Khmel'nychchynu* (New York, 1957), p. 82.

"lower" elements in the Ukraine. But when faced with Khmel'nyts'kyi's successful military challenge, the oligarchs found themselves almost completely isolated within the society of the Ukrainian palatinates and dependent on outside support.

Khmel'nyts'kyi's achievements in 1648 were remarkable: he destroyed the Crown Army in the battle of Korsun', taking both its hetmans prisoner, and took control of Kiev, Chernihiv, and Bratslav. Yet, even after Pyliavtsi (Pilawce), Khmel'nyts'kyi did not seize L'viv, although at the time the Commonwealth was not only without an army, but also in the midst of internal troubles caused by the death of King Władysław IV and the pending election.

These questions arise: Why did Khmel'nyts'kyi—against the advice of some of his colonels—lose such an opportunity to expand his base of power? Why didn't he dispatch his troops and those of his Tatar ally to the left side of the San and Vistula? Why, instead, did he show such keen interest in the outcome of the election of the new King?

The answers to these questions may be found in the letters which Khmel'nyts'kyi sent to Władysław IV and Jan Kazimierz.[5] It is significant that Khmel'nyts'kyi did not write to the primate of Poland, who constitutionally acted as *inter rex* during the interregnum, but to the king whom he knew to be deceased. In his letter, the Cossack hetman placed himself under the orders of the king, but not the Commonwealth. Only by addressing the letter in this fashion could Khmel'nyts'kyi undertake a sharp attack both on the oligarchs and on the state administration subordinated to them. In accusing the latter, Khmel'nyts'kyi was simultaneously accusing the Commonwealth which, through the prism of the Ukrainian palatinates, was at the

[5] Khmel'nyts'kyi to Władysław IV, 12 June 1648, in *Dokumenty Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho*, ed. I. P. Krypiakevych and I. Butych (Kiev, 1961), pp. 33-34; Khmel'nyts'kyi to Jan Kazimierz, 15 November 1648, in *Dokumenty*, p. 80. Contemporaries were aware of Khmel'nyts'kyi's recognition of royal power and his mistrust of the Commonwealth: see the statement of Adam Kisiel (Kysil') in the Diet on 10 October 1648 in *Jakuba Michałowskiego księga pamiętnicza* (hereafter *Księga pamiętnicza*) (Cracow, 1864), pp. 237-238. For similar views of other senators see *Księga pamiętnicza*, pp. 234-235. A contemporary poet wrote that Khmel'nyts'kyi was more afraid of the king than the Commonwealth:

"\.... więcej
Bał się Króla z natury chłopskiej narowitej
Aniż Sejmu wszystkiego Rzeczypospolitej,
Za czerń ją rozumiejąc i bez głowy ciało."

S. Twardowski, *Wojna domowa z Kozaki i Tatary*... (Kalisz, 1681), p. 40.

mercy of the all-powerful magnates. He appealed to the king, therefore, as the defender of justice and the Cossack freedoms which were being abolished by the all-powerful oligarchs.

Several months later, Khmel'nyts'kyi went even further. While promising Jan Kazimierz support for his candidacy to the Polish throne, Khmel'nyts'kyi simultaneously urged him to change the political system of the Commonwealth. In effect, the hetman of the Zaporozhian Host wanted the Polish king to become an absolutist ruler.[6]

Khmel'nyts'kyi's suggestions and his promise of support—sincere or not—were of interest to the monarchistic party, headed by the Crown's chancellor, Jerzy Ossoliński, who wanted to strengthen royal power in the Commonwealth.[7] Ossoliński was supporting the candidacy of Jan Kazimierz, who was known to favor a negotiated peace with the Cossacks. The war party, with Jeremi Wiśniowiecki, supported the other Vasa candidate, Karol Ferdynand, bishop of Breslau, who promised merciless war against the Cossacks.[8]

Even after his victory at Pyliavtsi, Khmel'nyts'kyi believed that he could not destroy the Commonwealth and so must negotiate with it. He was convinced that his only chance for coming to an agreement was to deal with Jan Kazimierz and Jerzy Ossoliński. Had he taken L'viv and advanced to the San, no one in the Commonwealth would or could have negotiated with him and the candidacy of Jan Kazimierz would have been strongly endangered. That may be the main reason

[6] *Dokumenty*, p. 80. Support for the idea of a strong monarchy in the Commonwealth was also demonstrated by Khmel'nyts'kyi in later years: *Księga pamiętnicza*, p. 374. In the poem on the Khmel'nyts'kyi coat of arms (which prefaced the list of Registered Cossacks offered to Jan Kazimierz after Zboriv [Zborów]) the king's strength is connected with Khmel'nyts'kyi's loyalty to him:

> "Niezwyciężonyś Królu w swym chrześciańskim państwie
> Gdy powolność Chmielnickich majesz w swym poddaństwie."

St. Oświęcim, *Diariusz 1643-1651*, Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum, vol. 19 (Cracow, 1907), p. 213; Khmel'nyts'kyi to Jan Kazimierz, 15 August 1649, *Dokumenty*, pp. 122-123.

[7] L. Kubala, *Jerzy Ossoliński* (L'viv, 1924), pp. 383-385; W. Czapliński, *Władysław IV i jego czasy* (Warsaw, 1972), pp. 289-290. On the possibility of using Cossacks to increase royal power in the Commonwealth see J. Gierowski, "Rzeczpospolita szlachecka wobec absolutystycznej Europy," in *Pamiętnik X Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich w Lublinie: Referaty i dyskusje*, vol. 3 (Warsaw, 1971), p. 116.

[8] W. Konopczyński, *Dzieje Polski nowożytnej*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1936), pp. 1-6; M. Hrushevs'kyi, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 8, pt. 2 (Kiev and Vienna, 1922), pp. 105-112; Kubala, *Jerzy Ossoliński*, pp. 301-328.

why Khmel'nyts'kyi did not take full advantage of his victories in 1648.

With Khmel'nyts'kyi showing signs of clemency and reason, Jan Kazimierz won the election and negotiations were begun. The new king was ready to restore the privileges of the Zaporozhian Host, enlarge the power of its hetman, and make conciliatory gestures toward the Orthodox Church.[9] But neither the king nor Ossoliński could transfer power in the Ukrainian palatinates from the hands of the oligarchs to the Cossack hetman and army. Pressure from the few magnates who had lost estates would not have been strong enough to influence the outcome of negotiations with the Cossacks. But the Commonwealth nobility as a whole could not allow any palatinate to escape from its control into that of the formidable army of the Cossacks, whose leader promised loyalty only to the king. It was not only social greed that stirred masses of *szlachta* to vote for war, but also their fear of drastic social and political changes in the Ukrainian palatinates—changes which could endanger the future of *szlachta* democracy in the Commonwealth.

Khmel'nyts'kyi, meanwhile, was also under pressure from those of his supporters who could lose by an agreement with the king. If such an agreement were reached, many of the rebels would be forced to leave the army and to return to their villages as serfs. Pressure from below for continuation of war, support from part of the nobility, and recognition by the Orthodox hierarchy and several foreign states combined to make a strong impact on Khmel'nyts'kyi: the Cossack leader began to pose not only as the defender of the Cossacks, but also as the creator of Rus'.[10]

It is not quite clear what Rus' meant for Khmel'nyts'kyi or for Kossov, the metropolitan of Kiev. Also unclear is whether the concept of Rus' had any appeal to the ordinary Cossacks or burghers, not to mention the peasants. Lypyns'kyi maintained that without Khmel'nyts'kyi's revolution, Rus' would have disappeared. He argued that in his pursuit of hereditary absolutist power, Khmel'-nyts'kyi acted in the best interests of the Ukrainian nation and believed that the hetman imposed on all classes of Rus' society service to the idea of an independent Ukraine.[11]

[9] *Księga pamiętnicza*, pp. 371-372; Krypiakevych, *Khmel'nyts'kyi*, pp. 158-160.

[10] *Księga pamiętnicza*, pp. 374-377.

[11] W. Lipiński, "Stanisław Michał Krzyczewski," pp. 146-148; W. Lipiński, "Dwie chwile z dziejów porewolucyjnej Ukrainy," in *Z dziejów Ukrainy*, pp. 524, 534-540,

Setting aside the rather fruitless point of "best interest," the reader can nurse legitimate doubts as to whether the participation of the peasantry and of many Cossacks in the uprising was in any measure caused by their wish to build an independent Ukraine. It cannot be doubted, however, that the presence of *szlachta* in Khmel'nyts'kyi's camp and his securing of privileges and possessions for them strengthened his efforts at statebuilding. Nor can it be denied that the tradition of Rus' existed mainly and necessarily among the self-conscious groups of society—that is, the nobility, part of the *starshyna* and the black clergy.[12]

The interests of these groups were contrary to the interests of their rebellious peasants and differed from those of the Zaporozhian Host. Both the military dictatorship of the hetman and the autocratic power of the Russian tsar were foreign to their tradition and aspirations. While Khmel'nyts'kyi expressed an interest in strenghtening royal power and wanted the Polish king to become an autocrat, the nobility of his state preferred to deal with the Commonwealth. The masses of peasants and thousands of Cossacks opposed any negotiations with Poland-Lithuania, for, we may add, good social reasons. It is not surprising, therefore, that the peace mission of Adam Kisiel (Kysil'), *wojewoda* of Bratslav and subsequently of Kiev, proved unsuccessful and that peace talks were exchanged for military campaigns.

During six years of war, the Commonwealth had been unable to break the Cossacks, but its challenge had grown strong enough for Khmel'nyts'kyi to seek outside help. The hetman placed himself and his state under the protection of the Russian tsar—a step that precipitated a Polish-Russian war in 1654. Deciding that the Cossack uprising was his opportunity to gain control of the Baltic coast, Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich ordered Russian armies to launch an attack in the direction of Vilnius (Wilno), Riga, and Elgava (Mittawa). Charles X, who wanted the Commonwealth's Baltic shores for himself, ordered Swedish intervention. Pushed back from the Baltic, the Russians

576-577, 583-586. The everyday meaning of *Rus'* in the seventeenth century was related to the people of the Orthodox faith on the territory of the Commonwealth. At the time of the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising, his followers were often called *Rus'*. Khmel'nyts'kyi himself did not use slogans about the restoration of Kievan Rus'. For the historical usage of the term, see: O. Pritsak and J. Reshetar, "The Ukraine and the Dialectics of Nation-Building," in *The Development of the USSR*, ed. D. Treadgold (Seattle and London, 1964), pp. 255-259.

[12] Pritsak and Reshetar, "The Ukraine," p. 241.

negotiated an armistice with Jan Kazimierz.[13] Meanwhile, Khmel'nyts'kyi found new allies in the Swedes; with them, as well as with Transylvania and Prussia, he planned the partition of the Commonwealth.[14]

But the Commonwealth did not collapse. The Tatars, Danes, and Austrians joined the war on the Polish-Lithuanian side. Meanwhile, Russia, frustrated by the collapse of the Baltic plans and angered by Khmel'nyts'kyi's pro-Swedish policy, was strengthening its grip on the Cossack domains. Muscovite garrisons were placed in Kiev and other Ukrainian cities. Russian *voevody* were sent there, and the metropolitan of Kiev found himself under pressure to recognize the authority of the patriarch of Moscow. The Russians supported the common people and the white clergy against the Cossack *starshyna* and the Orthodox hierarchy.[15] The social stratification of Khmel'nyts'kyi's supporters, which had existed from the beginning of the uprising, now became more marked, leading to the formation of opposing political groups. The *starshyna* and black clergy, who in the Cossack state played a role similar to that of the nobility in the rest of the Commonwealth, wanted to reopen negotiations with Warsaw. Their opponents preferred to look to autocratic regimes for protection and still recognized the supremacy of the Russian tsar.

When Khmel'nyts'kyi died (27 July 1657), the pro-Commonwealth faction became dominant and it contined to be so under Ivan Vyhovs'kyi. After long negotiations—during which both parties were highly vulnerable, since a great part of the Commonwealth was occupied by Swedish and Russian forces and the Cossacks had to

13 M. Gawlik, "Projekt unii rosyjsko-polskiej w drugiej połowie XVII w.," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 23 (1909): 81, 84-99; Z. Wójcik, "Polska i Rosja wobec wspólnego niebezpieczeństwa szwedzkiego w okresie wojny północnej 1655-1660," in *Polska w okresie drugiej wojny północnej, 1655-1660*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1957), pp. 334-368; G.V. Forsten, "Snosheniia Shvetsii i Rossii vo vtoroi polovine XVII v.," *Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia* 315 (St. Petersburg, 1898): 246-247, and 316 (St. Petersburg, 1898): 322-323.

14 L. Kubala, *Wojna brandenburska i najazd Rakoczego* (L'viv, 1917), pp. 128-132; Krypiakevych, *Khmel'nyts'kyi*, pp. 515-519.

15 S.M. Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii* (Moscow, 1961), pp. 12-13, 21-22; V.O. Einhorn, "O snosheniakh malorossiiskogo dukhovenstva s moskovskim pravitel'stvom v tsarstvovanie Alekseia Mihailovicha," *Chtenia v Imperatorskom obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh*, 1893, no. 2, pp. 43-46, 51-97; V. Herasymchuk, "Vyhovs'kyi i Iurii Khmel'nyts'kyi," in *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeny Shevchenka* (hereafter *ZNTSh*), 49 (L'viv, 1904): 17-18; V. Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie na velikorusskuiu tserkovnuiu zhizn'* (Kazan, 1914), pp. 151-161, 178-182; G. Vernadsky, *The Tsardom of Moscow, 1547-1682*, vol. 5, pt. 2 (New Haven and London, 1969), pp. 535-538, 627-645.

battle the Tatars and Russians—the Treaty of Hadiach (Hadziacz) was signed in 1658 and confirmed by the Diet in 1659.[16]

The most important provisions of that treaty transformed the dual Commonwealth into the triple Confederation of the Crown, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and the Grand Duchy of Rus'—the last to be fashioned from the palatinates of Bratslav, Chernihiv, and Kiev. Like the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the new Duchy of Rus' was to have a separate administration, treasury, army, and judiciary. The *szlachta* of Rus' were to participate in the royal elections together with the *szlachta* of the Crown and Lithuania. Their deputies were to sit in the *Izba* (Commons) and their senators in the Senate. Orthodox bishops from not only the Grand Duchy of Rus', but the Crown and Lithuania were also to sit in the Senate, and the Orthodox religion was granted the same rights as the Catholic. All the offices in the Kiev palatinate were reserved exclusively for the Orthodox. On the territory of the other two *palatinates*, the principle of Catholic-Orthodox rotation was established. Public observance of Orthodox rites was guaranteed throughout the territory of the entire Commonwealth. The rights of Orthodox merchants were safeguarded by the stipulation that their election to city administrations would not be restricted.

The treaty devoted considerable attention to the problem of education. By its terms, the Kiev Mohyla Academy was granted rights equivalent to those of the Cracow Academy, and the creation of yet another such institution was envisaged. Also, the Jesuits were permanently removed from Kiev, and the unhampered development of Orthodox secondary education was guaranteed.

The possibility of ennoblement was provided to many hundreds of Cossacks, and amnesty was granted to those who had participated in the war. In addition to the Zaporozhian Host of 30,000 men, a recruited force of 10,000 to be maintained by public taxes was created. Supreme command over both the Cossacks and the new army was to be exercised by the hetman who, as the *wojewoda* of Kiev, was to be the first senator of the new Grand Duchy. Also, the return of the *szlachta* who had fought against the Cossacks to their estates on the territory of the Grand Duchy of Rus' was made largely conditional on the hetman's approval.

[16] For the text of the treaty of Hadiach, see *Volumina Legum*, 2nd ed., vol. 4 (St. Petersburg, 1859), pp. 297-300.

The Union of Hadiach—signed on 16 September 1658 and ratified by the Diet on 12 May 1659—resembled the Union of Lublin of 1569. The Polish-Lithuanian union, however, had been achieved under pressure from the Crown and was accompanied by the introduction of political changes which gave the Lithuanian *szlachta* the same social and legal privileges as those of the *szlachta* in Poland. At Hadiach, the situation was markedly different. Here, representatives of the Cossack Army, headed by Hetman Ivan Vyhovs'kyi, devised the idea of a Grand Duchy of Rus' connected with the Commonwealth through participation in its *szlachta* democracy. According to their plan, the *szlachta* of the Rus' Duchy, reinforced by the assimilation of the Cossack *starshyna*, would displace the Cossack Army. Assumption of power by the *szlachta* would be eased because the Cossack uprising had broken the oligarchic control of the Wiśniowiecki, Koniecpolski, and Zasławski families. Entering the Commonwealth system would thus grant the *szlachta* full control of power in Rus' while safeguarding their religious and cultural identity.

The Union of Hadiach emanated from the tradition of *szlachta* democracy and could, it seems, have reinforced religious and linguistic pluralism throughout the Commonwealth. The horizontal ties that connected the *szlachta* of all the provinces were stronger than the divisive forces of differing religions, languages, and ethnic origins that cut through the whole of society. Orthodox, Calvinists, Lutherans, and Catholics were all fully privileged members of the nation. A nobleman from Livonia who spoke German, his equal from Smolensk or Przemyśl (Peremyshl') who signed his name in Cyrillic, and a Polish-speaking nobleman from Cracow or Sandomierz all considered themselves sons of the same Motherland. They called each other "brother," as if needing to constantly remind themselves of their equal rights. The *szlachta*'s worship of liberty and equality, ritualistically observed in public and private life, was accompanied by vigorous condemnation of absolutism and oligarchy. Replete with the phraseology of "freedom" and "equality" were not only the constitutions of the Diet and sessions of the dietines, but school textbooks, anthologies of poetry, sermons, and even speeches at weddings, funerals, and baptisms. The endless repetition of these words in itself signified some lack of their substance in everyday life. And, indeed, what kind of equality could have existed between a Potocki, Zamoyski, or Radziwiłł and a member of the *szlachta* who had no land, education, or office? It was precisely in the court of the magnates, in their private armies and immense

latifundias, that the multitude of *szlachta* sought employment. Yet, the magnates did not succeed in attaining legal distinctions within the framework of the *szlachta* estate, and their mutual rivalry and frequent opposition to the king induced them to seek support among the petty *szlachta*. Moreover, anyone audacious enough to question the vaunted tenets of "freedom" and "equality" would have forfeited the opportunity to play any political role in the Commonwealth.

The enormous differences in wealth that did exist among the *szlachta* did not, then, entail substantial differentiation in privileges or legal position. The fluctuating political and economic power of families and individuals contributed to the preservation of the unity of the entire stratum. Members of the *szlachta* were proud of their descent as members of a free nation. Abroad and sometimes at home they called themselves *equitus Poloniae*, regardless of what language they spoke or whether their home was Cracow, Kiev, or Vilnius. This was a definition of sociopolitical, not ethnic, standing.[17] Moreover, they used this designation interchangeably with the honorific one of "Sarmats."[18] Sarmatian descent was considered yet another tie uni-

[17] A. Zajączkowski, *Główne elementy kultury szlacheckiej w Polsce* (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1961), pp. 29-36, 49-56; J. Maciszewski, "W sprawie kultury szlacheckiej," *Przegląd Historyczny* 53 (1962): 539-546; W. Czapliński, *O Polsce siedemnastowiecznej* (Warsaw, 1966), pp. 15-24, 48-56; J. Maciszewski, *Szlachta polska i jej państwo* (Warsaw, 1969); J. Tazbir, *Rzeczpospolita i świat* (Wrocław, Warsaw, Cracow, and Gdańsk, 1971), pp. 23-43.

[18] Herodotus and later Ptolomeus applied the term *Sarmatia* to the territories east of Germany and north of the Black Sea. Some medieval and renaissance scholars described Slavs as descendants of ancient Sarmatians. Heated disputes over the origins of the Slavs and descriptions of Sarmatia led to the popularization of that term. In the sixteenth century the Polish-Lithuanian state was often described as Sarmatia, providing additional bonds between Poles and Lithuanians. After the development of *szlachta* democracy and the joint election of kings, these bonds became particularly important. The *szlachta*, divided by religion, language and historical past, found bases for unity in the Sarmatian myth. According to it, all the nobility of the Commonwealth originated from a Sarmatian tribe which conquered the indigenous population of the East European plains. Sarmatism justified the superior position of the *szlachta*, encouraged its alienation from the rest of society and gave it a strong sense of exclusiveness and unity. A Catholic "Sarmatian" from Poznań or Cracow felt closer to a "Sarmatian" Orthodox from L'viv or Kiev than to his own Catholic, Polish-speaking peasant. The mythology of Sarmatism was composed of many different and often contradictory legends, beliefs, and ideas, changing from generation to generation. Under the partisan pen of rival coteries and political and religious groups, it took various shapes. Megalomaniac, militaristic, xenophobic or pacifist, dressed in renaissance or baroque garb, it served Sarmatian sons of the Commonwealth well from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. There is no comprehensive monograph on Sarmatism. The best study of its origins was written by T. Ulewicz, *Sarmacja: Studium z problematyki słowiańskiej*

fying all *szlachta* of the ethnically diverse Commonwealth and separating them from non-Sarmatian society.

The Sarmatians felt infinitely superior not only to the Asiatic peoples suffering under despotism, but also to the French, Bohemian, and Austrian nobility subjected to the absolutism of their rulers.[19] They watched over royal attempts to upset their control of the country with vigilance and great suspicion. Causing them particular uneasiness were the contacts of Władysław IV with Khmel'nyts'kyi and, later, those of Jan Kazimierz, Sobieski, and August II with the Cossacks.

The Hadiach union extended the *szlachta*'s rule to the vast territories long controlled by the Zaporozhian Host. It was for this reason that the Diet agreed to the separation of the three palatinates from the Crown and to the establishment of the Grand Duchy of Rus'. The Crown "lost" three provinces, but the *szlachta* nation regained "brothers" who, meanwhile, had won power in the Zaporozhian Host.

The demands of the Rus' *szlachta* irritated other nobles who were both upset at the ennoblement of numerous Cossacks and offended by the necessity of securing the hetman's consent for their return to estates on the territories of the Grand Duchy. They found the granting of privileges to the Orthodox Church painful and they considered the forced abrogation of the Union of Brest humiliating.[20] We must remember, however, that similar indignation and "fraternal" objections were voiced against the *szlachta* of the Prussian provinces,

XV i XVI wieku (Cracow, 1950). See also: Maciej Miechowita, *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis, Asiana et Europiana et de contentis in eis* (Cracow, 1517); T. Mańkowski, *Genealogia Sarmatyzmu* (Warsaw, 1946); S. Cynarski, "Sarmatyzm—Ideologia i styl życia," in *Polska XVII wieku: Państwo-społeczeństwo-kultura*, ed. J. Tazbir (Warsaw, 1969), pp. 220-243; Tazbir, *Rzeczpospolita i świat*, pp. 8-22.

[19] L. Opaliński, "Obrona Polski," in *Wybór pism*, ed. St. Grzeszczuk (Wrocław and Cracow, 1959), pp. 196-203; S. Szymonowicz, "Lutnia rokoszowa," in J. Pelc, *Szymonoviciana, Miscellanea Staropolskie*, vol. 10 (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1966), pp. 100; S. Orzechowski, "Mowa do szlachty polskiej przeciw prawom i ustawom Królestwa Polskiego uporządkowanym przez Jakuba Przyłuskiego," in *Wybór pism*, ed. J. Starnowski (Wrocław and Warsaw, Cracow and Gdańsk, 1972), pp. 98-103.

[20] V. Herasymchuk, "Vyhovshchyna i Hadjats'kyi traktat," *ZNTSh* 89 (L'viv, 1909): 52-53; W. Lipiński, "Dwie chwile," p. 605; L. Kubala, *Wojny duńskie i pokój oliwski* (L'viv, 1922), pp. 251-252; W. Tomkiewicz, "Unia Hadziacka," *Sprawy Narodowościowe* 11 (1937): 21-23. The Vatican exercised pressure on the court, the Catholic hierarchy, and the Catholic senators to forestall agreement with the Cossacks: *Monumenta Ucrainae Historica*, vol. 11: *1633-1659*, supp., ed. J. Slipyj (Rome, 1974), pp. 468-470, 484-486, 520-524.

especially since the latter paid minimal taxes and accepted burgher participation in the local diets.[21]

The *szlachta*'s rights and their duty to administer the counties, the provinces, and the country as a whole—gained during the struggle with royal power—were the basis for their pride and self-awareness. Hence it is not surprising that Jerzy Niemirycz (Iurii Nemyrych) appealed to liberty when he spoke in the name of the Zaporozhian Host and Rus' at the Diet of 1659. Nothing but liberty, he declared, attracted them to their common Motherland. Liberty "was our motive and foundation, unbroken by differences in language, in religion—which not only we but our posterity will defend forever, because under liberty, equality will be preserved in its entirety as among brothers."[22]

These words were dear and familiar to all the deputies. They had grown up in a society which was, above all, proud of its liberties, the assertion of which lay at the basis of all Diet constitutions. To achieve their liberties, the *szlachta* had fought a constitutional and, at times, civil war against oligarchy and royal power since the mid-fifteenth century. To a great extent these words represented not only the actual legal position of the *szlachta*, but—more importantly—the Sarmatian ideology.

The *starshyna* and the nobility of the Duchy of Rus'—strong and well established in the army, the church, and the bureaucracy—were reopening negotiations with their equals in the Crown and Lithuania. They did so after destroying the oligarchic system, pacifying a peasant rebellion, and taking control over the Zaporozhian Host.

The *szlachta*'s enjoyment of privileges and their devotion to liberty led to the limitation of all central authority in the seventeenth-century Commonwealth, including even that of the Diet. Its deputies were bound by instructions and were often obliged to defer to the opinion of their local diets, which actually controlled state affairs at the county level. The diets not only made decisions on the political and economic life of the country, but exercised considerable influence on its cultural and religious life, as well.[23]

[21] W. Czapliński, *Dwa sejmy w roku 1652* (Wrocław, 1955), pp. 163-170.

[22] S. Kot, *Jerzy Niemirycz, w 300-lecie ugody Hadziackiej* (Paris, 1960), p. 71.

[23] An informative study on the role of the *sejmiki* in the Commonwealth was written by J. Gierowski, *Sejmik Generalny Księstwa Mazowieckiego na tle ustrojowym Mazowsza* (Wrocław, 1948). See also A. Pawiński, *Rządy sejmikowe w Polsce na tle stosunków województw kujawskich* (Warsaw, 1888); S. Śreniowski, *Organizacja sejmiku halic-*

We should remember this role of the local diets when discussing the impact which would have been made on the Commonwealth by the implementation of Hadiach. During the time of the most intense pressure of the Counter-Reformation under Sigismund III, the local diets of the Ruthenian, Volhynian, and other palatinates defended the Orthodox faith, often successfully.[24] After Hadiach, not only these institutions but the whole Duchy of Rus' and the Orthodox bishops sitting in the Senate for the first time would have given strong support to Orthodoxy, slowing down the progress of the Counter-Reformation in the Commonwealth. This, in turn, would also have had an influence on the further development of culture on the territory of the Duchy of Rus'.

The spread of renaissance and baroque culture by way of the Polish language occurred not only throughout the whole territory of the Commonwealth, but also in Muscovy. Polish cultural influences[25] were very strong in the Kiev Mohyla Academy even after the Truce of Andrusovo, which ceded the Left-Bank Ukraine and Kiev to Russia. Before and after Andrusovo, Kiev was the vital cultural center of Orthodoxy, creatively using its contacts with the East and the West, and one of the best—if not *the* best—centers of Orthodox higher education.[26]

While negotiating the Hadiach treaty, the *starshyna* must have realized the risk they were taking in bartering away the position achieved by the Cossack Army. The latter had integrated various social strata and

kiego (L'viv, 1938); W. Urban, "Skład społeczny i ideologiczny sejmiku krakowskiego w latach 1572-1606," *Przegląd Historyczny* 3 (1953); W. Dworzaczek, "Skład społeczny wielkopolskiej reprezentacji sejmowej w latach 1572-1655," *Roczniki Historyczne* 23 (1957); W. Hejnosz, "Udział ziemi przemyskiej w życiu parlamentarnym Polski przedrozbiorowej," in *Rocznik Przemyski*, 1961.

24 P. N. Zhukovich, *Seimovaia bor'ba pravoslavnogo zapadnorusskogo dvorianstva s tserkovnoi uniei do 1609 g.* (St. Petersburg, 1901), pp. 239-241, 244-246, 373-374, 422-423, 523-525, 531-533, 536, 582-584; W. Lipiński, "Echa przeszłosci," in *Z dziejów Ukrainy*, pp. 125-130; W. Łoziński, *Prawem i lewem*, 2 vols. (Cracow, 1957), 1 : 256-258; 2 : 80-87.

25 Here I use the term "Polish culture" to mean that form of renaissance and baroque culture that was prevalent in the multinational and multireligious Commonwealth and was expressed mostly (but not only) in the Polish language.

26 A. Jabłonowski, *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohylańska* (Cracow, 1899-1900), pp. 165-173; A. Jabłonowski, "W sprawie Akademii Kijowsko-Mohylańskiej," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 14 (1902): 549-586; Kharlampovich, *Malorossiiskoe vliianie*, pp. 367-488; Łużny, *Pisarze kręgu*, pp. 105-109; L. R. Lewitter, "Poland, the Ukraine and Russia in the 17th Century," *Slavonic and East European Review* 27 (1948-1949) : 164-167, 419-428; A. I. Rogov, "Maciej Stryjkowski i historiografia ukraińska w XVII wieku," *Slavia Orientalis* 3 (1965) : 311-329.

its ranks were swelled by thousands of rebellious peasants. Despite the considerable economic and cultural differences among the army's rank and file,[27] no legal differentiations were involved. By distinguishing himself, any Cossack could enter the ranks of the *starshyna.* In providing for the ennoblement of one hundred Cossacks in each regiment, the Hadiach union would have shattered the previous "legal" equality and unity of interests. The ennobled Cossacks would continue to hold their posts in the army, but they would now be part of the *szlachta* nation. Naturally, however, their identification with the *szlachta* and change in loyalties could not take place automatically. For many new nobles, the victorious Host was the only real center of power and arena of action. To them, the *szlachta* of the Commonwealth represented an unknown and socially alien element.

Nevertheless, the ability of the *starshyna* to join the ranks of the nobility and to participate—on the side of the black clergy—in anticipating and demanding the creation of the Duchy of Rus' cannot be doubted.[28] Ironically, the future of the Duchy of Rus' depended on a severe reduction in the powerful position of the Zaporozhian Host, without whose victories it could not have emerged. Hadiach's legalization of the *de facto* differences that existed among the Cossacks was the most crucial factor in spurring opposition against Vyhovs'kyi. Not peasant masses, but field Cossacks left behind in status by the *starshyna* who had joined the ranks of the *szlachta* were the most vigorous opponents of the union. The negotiators of Hadiach were aware of the potential for hostility among the troops, and it is probably for this reason that they planned to create an army of 10,000 mercenaries responsible to the hetman.

The fact that the initiative for the union came from the Rus' side and that profound changes in social stratification occurred during the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising leads me to challenge the generally accepted thesis that the Hadiach union "came too late."[29] A union

[27] S. Rudnyts'kyi, "Ukrains'ki Kozaky v 1625-30 r.," *ZNTSh* 31-32 (L'viv, 1899), 10-11, 58, 65, 72; M. Slabchenko, "Shche do istorii ustroiu Het'manshchyny XVII-XVIII st.," *ZNTSh* 116 (L'viv, 1913): 72-77; V.A. Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy v XVII-XVIII vv.*, vol. 1 (Prague, 1924), pp. 29-39, 108-124; L. Okinshevych, "Znachne viis'kove tovarystvo v Ukraini-Het'manshchyni XVII-XVIII st.," *ZNTSh* 151 (Munich. 1948): 13, 154-158.

[28] Pritsak and Reshetar, "The Ukraine," pp. 241-242.

[29] J. Szujski, *Dzieje Polski*, vol. 3 (Cracow, 1895), pp. 463-466; Kubala, *Wojny duńskie*, pp. 251-254; M. Bobrzyński, *Dzieje Polski w zarysie*, 4th ed., 3 vols. (Warsaw, 1927-31), 2: 189; Tomkiewicz, "Unia Hadziacka," p. 1. Philip Longworth does not

based on inclusion of the Rus' ruling stratum in the framework of the Commonwealth nation could have taken place only at a time when social groups had emerged in Rus' that were capable of negotiating with the *szlachta* on an equal footing. It is doubtful whether any act similar to Hadiach could have been proposed until the leading element of the Cossack state had begun to play a role comparable to that of the *szlachta* in the Commonwealth. The argument that Hadiach "came too late" would hold only if its preconditions had existed earlier, but had been ignored. I do not believe this was the case.[30] The *szlachta* could not have agreed to the idea of a Duchy of Rus' before the *starshyna* and Orthodox hierarchy had achieved a position similar to that won by the Crown nobility at the time of the "execution of law" movement. (Of course, the social comparison is much stronger than the political or cultural one.) Otherwise, with similar and equally fallacious logic, it could be argued that the Polish-Lithuanian union of 1569 "came too early"—that is, before the oligarchic structure of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had been broken.

The terms of the Hadiach union were never carried out. At the time of its ratification Swedish forces were occupying Elbląg and Malbork. Russian troops held Kiev as well as Vilnius, and the unpaid soldiers of the Crown Army were refusing to fight. In the spring of 1659, the Swedes took Tczew, cutting lines of communication with Gdańsk, and blocked the mouth of the Vistula. In such a situation, the same Diet which had ratified Hadiach also decided upon taxation which would satisfy the army's demands. Some troops were sent to help Vyhovs'kyi but the main forces of the Crown and Lithuania were used against Sweden. In June 1659, Vyhovs'kyi, won a brilliant victory at Konotop but failed to seize Kiev. Polish aid did not come, and given the persistence of the Russian military presence in Kiev, the opponents of Vyhovs'kyi managed to overthrow him and to bestow the hetmancy on Iurii Khmel'nyts'kyi.

interpret Hadiach but nevertheless follows the "too late" approach. One can wonder if the revolts of Nalyvaiko or Pavliuk were also "too late" or maybe "too early." See P. Longworth, *The Cossacks* (New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, 1970), p. 122.

30 For some Polish historians "too late" meant too late to safeguard the powerful position of Poland in Eastern Europe. A. Jabłonowski, *Historia Rusi południowej do upadku Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* (Cracow, 1912), pp. 259-260; O. Halecki, *Borderlands of Western Civilization* (New York, 1952), p. 209; Kot, *Jerzy Niemirycz*, p. 7; W. Wielhorski, "Ziemie Ukrainne Rzeczypospolitej: Zarys dziejów," in *Pamiętnik Kijowski*, vol. 1 (London, 1959), pp. 55-59.

The fall of Vyhovs'kyi demonstrated the power of political concepts different from those proposed by the black clergy and a segment of the *starshyna.* To the *szlachta* of the Commonwealth, the event also proved the weakness of their Rus' partners. For that reason, given the existing situation, the leaders of the Commonwealth returned to their former, traditional policy toward the Cossacks: dispensing privileges in wartime, attempting enserfment when military crises had passed. For the time being, the Cossacks were granted a number of privileges but the idea of a grand duchy of Rus' was abandoned. In 1660 the Crown hetmans Stanisław Potocki and Jerzy Lubomirski won a decisive victory over the Russians at Chudniv; yet, the Union of Hadiach was not reactivated, despite the demands of the Cossack *starshyna* who again joined the king's side.[31]

From that time on, even the *szlachta* of the Kiev palatinate became increasingly hostile to the tradition of Hadiach. At the end of the seventeenth century, the *szlachta* accused one of the Cossack leaders, Semen Palii, whom they termed "dux malorum et scelorum artifex," of planning to bring the idea of Hadiach to life again.[32]

It should be pointed out that the *szlachta* reacted so strongly to Palii because he successfully challenged the Commonwealth's authority in the Right-Bank Ukraine and had strong support from the masses of the population. His social policies and the support he received from the peasants were dangerous both to the *starshyna* of the Left-Bank Ukraine and to the *szlachta* of the Right Bank.[33] To the latter, Palii was additionally dangerous because of his contacts with the king. The protection given by Jan Sobieski and Augustus II to the Cossack military leaders in the Bratslav and Kiev palatinates was always sensed by the *szlachta* as threatening to their dominant position.

[31] Iu. Khmel'nyts'kyi to Jan Kazimierz, 15 November 1660, in *Pamiatniki izdannye vremennoiu komisseiu dlia rozbora drevnikh aktov* (Kiev, 1859), p. 19; Jabłonowski, *Historia Rusi*, p. 262; M. Hrushevs'kyi, *Illustrovana istoriia Ukrainy* (St. Petersburg, 1912), p. 332; Wójcik, *Dzikie Pola*, p. 220.

[32] Instruction for the deputies to the Diet given by the *szlachta* of the Kiev palatinate in 1692, in *Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii* (hereafter *AIZR*), pt. 2, vol. 2, (Kiev, 1888), p. 497.

[33] H. I. Serhienko, "Semen Palii," *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1960, no. 1, p. 61; J. Janczak, "Powstanie Paleja," in *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Wroclawskiego, Historia 3*, ser. A, vol. 23 (Wrocław, 1960), pp. 94-96, 132-133; B. Kentrschynskyj, *Mazepa* (Stockholm, 1962), pp. 217-218; J. Perdenia, *Stanowisko Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej wobec sprawy Ukrainy na przełomie XVII-XVIII w.* (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1963), pp. 64-66, 82, 106.

In late 1699, after the Turkish war, the Diet abolished the Cossack Army in the Commonwealth.[34]

To recapitulate, while the *szlachta* was becoming hostile toward the Hadiach tradition the Cossack *starshyna* was finding it more and more congenial. In the territories that became part of Muscovy after 1667, the *starshyna* exploited the serf labor of the peasants and eventually entered the ranks of the *dvorianstvo* (nobility). But they lacked those political rights which they could have enjoyed in the Commonwealth. The Russians who dominated these territories were constantly diminishing the rights and privileges of the Cossacks while Russian military garrisons in Kiev and other cities were reducing Cossack autonomy. The "free" election of hetmans was now held under pressure from the tsar's representatives. Of course, the Cossack Army continued to play an important political role—especially under Mazepa—and the Kiev Mohyla Academy flourished. But the *starshyna* could only dream of having the degree of control over their territories which Hadiach would have provided.

Interest in Hadiach disappeared with the decline of the Commonwealth, the liquidation of the Zaporozhian Host, and the subsequent partitions. It revived, however, when modern nationalism was born. For the Poles it then became a useful example of their tolerance and ability to provide broad autonomy for a non-Polish population. For the Ukrainians it symbolized the renunciation of their independence. Hence, historical interpretations of this distant act of 1658-59 vary considerably. Some Polish historians have viewed it as the product of the famous Polish tolerance and political foresight, and have attributed its failure to the political immaturity of the Cossacks.[35] Some Ukrainian historians, on the other hand, have accused Vyhovs'kyi and the *starshyna* of being traitors to the Ukrainian nation.[36] Neither side has indicated what meaning, if any, these terms had in the seventeenth century, while both have equated the Commonwealth with ethnic Poland and Rus' with the Ukraine.

Hadiach illuminates the weaknesses and the strengths of *szlachta* democracy in its multicultural form. The chance for an extension and strengthening of the Commonwealth came at a moment when great

[34] *Volumina Legum*, 2nd ed., vol. 6 (St. Petersburg, 1860), p. 34.

[35] W. Konopczyński, *Dzieje Polski nowożytnej*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1936), pp. 38-39; W. Tomkiewicz, "Ukraina między Wschodem a Zachodem," *Sprawy Narodowościowe* 12 (1938): 40-41.

[36] W. Lipiński, "Na przełomie," in *Z dziejów Ukrainy*, pp. 586-587, 608, 611, 615-617.

sociopolitical changes were taking place on the territories controlled by the Zaporozhian Host. Concurrently, centralized power was becoming stronger in many European countries—including Russia, which strove to dominate the Ukraine after the Treaty of Pereiaslav in 1654.[37]

In its struggle against the Khmel'nyts'kyi state, Russia, Sweden, and Transylvania, the *szlachta* democracy was able to mobilize enough strength to defend its independence. But it was unable to support the newly-organized Grand Duchy of Rus'. There, in the welter of domestic rivalries for power and serious social strife, an exterior factor—Russia—proved decisive. It should be emphasized, however, that it was the Rus' side that demanded the organization of the Grand Duchy of Rus'. Its authors and supporters were connected strongly enough with the political and cultural values of *szlachta* democracy to bid for union with the Crown and Lithuania. They tried to introduce and exercise those values in territories previously under a *de facto* oligarchy and later under the centralized dictatorship of the Cossack Army and its hetman. But they did not have the time to practice and shape to their own purposes the values that had come into existence, in life and mythology, on Crown territories at least one hundred years earlier. These men cannot be considered traitors to the Ukrainian nation unless we accept the theory that the peasants of the seventeenth-century Kiev palatinate were nationally conscious Ukrainians. What is certain is that they were defenders *par excellence* of their own historical heritage and culture, and that they wanted to become part of a state built on the political and social principles they cherished and found useful.

The nobility of the Khmel'nyts'kyi state, the Cossack *starshyna*, and the higher clergy—promoters and defenders of the Union of Hadiach and the idea of the Grand Duchy of Rus'—succeeded in achieving control over the Ukrainian *palatinates* and convincing the Commonwealth of the need to create a Grand Duchy of Rus'. But they did not succeed in mustering enough support within their own society to defeat the Russian armies. They also never won wholehearted backing from the *szlachta* of the Crown and Lithuania. The *szlachta* of the Commonwealth proved foresighted enough to accept the Union of Hadiach but were quick to abandon it when their Rus' "brothers" lost control over the Grand Duchy.[38] When, after the fall

[37] J. Gierowski, "L'Europe Centrale au XVII^e siècle et ses principales tendences politiques," in *XIII^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques* (Moscow, 1970), p. 9.
[38] The local diets favored the abolition of the Hadiach union: see Instruction for a Deputy to the Diet from the Principalities of Zator and Oświęcim, 28 March 1661, in

of Vyhovs'kyi, the *szlachta* of the Commonwealth were once again confronted with the hostile Cossack Army, they traded the new idea of union for the old, unsuccessful, but familiar policy of *status quo ante* Hadiach.

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Akta sejmikowe województwa krakowskiego 1661-1673, ed. A. Przyboś, vol. 3 (Wrocław and Cracow, 1959), p. 8; Instruction for Deputies to the Diet from Halich County, 21 May 1661, "Lauda sejmików halickich, 1575-1695," ed. A. Prochaska, in *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie*, vol. 24 (L'viv, 1931), pp. 176; Instruction for Deputies to the Diet from Dobrzyn County, 28 March 1661, "Lauda sejmików ziemi dobrzyńskiej," ed. F. Kluczycki, in *Acta Historia Res Gestas Poloniae Illustrantia*, vol. 10 (Cracow, 1887), p. 7; Instruction for Deputies to the Diet from the Volhynian Palatinate, 28 March 1661, in *AIZR*, pt. 2, vol. 2 (Kiev, 1888), pp. 90-91. Only the *szlachta* from Kiev expressed sympathy for the idea of Hadiach, but even they agreed to the abolition of the Duchy of Rus': 28 March 1661, in *AIZR*, pt. 2, vol. 2 (Kiev, 1888), pp. 110-111.

SIR LEWIS NAMIER AND THE STRUGGLE FOR EASTERN GALICIA, 1918-1920*

TARAS HUNCZAK

In an unsuspected and almost bloodless nocturnal coup of 31 October 1918, the Ukrainians of Galicia seized power from the Austrian administration. The Poles, who had planned to effect an orderly transfer of power into their own hands that very same day, were taken aback by the audacious act of the Ukrainians. Their reaction was swift: on November 1 the first shots were exchanged between Poles and Ukrainians. This encounter gradually escalated into a full-fledged war which brought the resources of the Polish state into the struggle for dominion over Galicia.

The conflict between Poland and the Western Ukrainian People's Republic was brought to the councils of the victorious states deliberating in Paris. On 8 November 1918, Dr. Ievhen Levyts'kyi, the Galician republic's secretary for foreign affairs, informed Great Britain of the existence of the new state.[1] In a fourteen-page letter to President Wilson dated the same day—a copy of which he handed the British ambassador to Switzerland—Dr. Levyts'kyi not only informed the Americans of the existence of the new West Ukrainian state and of the Polish-Ukrainian confrontation in that area, but also provided a concise historical background for the involvement. His letter also rejected Polish claims to Eastern Galicia as being unfounded.[2]

Meanwhile, the Poles were making use of their head start in the diplomatic arena. Roman Dmowski, leader of the Polish National Committee and an opponent of Ukrainian independence, presented the Polish case before the Entente in the best possible light, depicting the Ukrainian struggle for independence as either an act of bolshevism or a case of "German and Austrian intrigues." A zealous advocate

* This paper was read at a meeting of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences, in the U.S., on 13 April 1975.

1 Public Record Office, Foreign Office (hereafter FO) 371/3301, doc. 4239.

2 FO 371/3301, doc. 4239.

of the Polish expansion in the east which would create a large and powerful state, Dmowski felt that the existence of a Ukrainian state would stand in the way of realizing this objective. Furthermore, he believed that such a state would become a haven for Ukrainian irredentists.[3]

The charges and countercharges of both protagonists as well as the lack of reliable information induced the Entente to dispatch several political and military missions, which it instructed to examine the situation first-hand and report back objective and accurate information. It was as an analyst and commentator on their reports and an author of numerous memoranda and notes that Lewis Namier established himself as the most outstanding authority on the Galician and Polish questions in the Political Intelligence Department of the British Foreign Office. Possessed of a sense of fairness and intellectual integrity, he gained the respect and confidence of other members of the department. Together they helped to shape the British foreign policy in Eastern Europe that provided the beleaguered Galician Ukrainians with sympathy and support from the most unexpected quarters. Britain's acceptance and implementation of the pro-Ukrainian policy they helped devise has been variously explained, most frequently as an intent to contain Poland in order to limit the French preponderance in Eastern Europe.[4] Simply put, this argument says that the desire to maintain a balance of power directed the foreign policy of the British Government. As a complementary explanation, I propose the personal influence of Lewis Namier, whose arguments struck a responsive cord among those who formulated this policy.

Who was Lewis Namier and why did he champion the cause of the Galician Ukrainians? A scion of distinguished East European Jewish parentage, Lewis was born on 27 June 1888 into the Bernsztajn vel Niemirowski family of Wola Okrzejska, Russian Poland. In 1890 the family moved to Kobylovoloki in Eastern Galicia. Six years later they moved to Novosilka Skalats'ka. In 1906 they moved yet again, to a newly-acquired estate in Koshylivtsi in the province of Zalishchyky.

[3] For a good analysis of Polish territorial ambitions in the east see Aleksy Deruga, *Polityka wschodnia Polski wobec ziem Litwy, Bialorusi i Ukrainy, 1918-1919* (Warsaw, 1969). See also Jędrzej Giertych, *Pół wieku polskiej polityki* ([West Germany] 1947), pp. 39-40.

[4] The Polish Socialist Party accused the Polish Peace Delegation and Dmowski, its head, with having generated British anti-Polish attitudes. See the article "The Problem of East Galicia" in the Cracow newspaper *Naprzód*, 5 December 1919.

Though living in areas of predominantly Ukrainian population, Lewis's parents, thoroughly polonized, sought to instill in their son a love of the Polish language and culture and adamantly opposed the boy's contacts with neighborhood children, fearing that he might learn Ukrainian, which, to his father was "no language at all."[5] Despite these parental strictures, however, the boy spoke Ukrainian with the house servants whenever his parents were absent. Perhaps even more significant to Lewis's development were visits to Ukrainian churches with his nurse, which must have left a lasting impression on the sensitive child.

At age nine, Namier suddenly discovered that his parents, who wanted to enter the rather narrow circle of the Polish Catholic gentry, had hidden from him his Jewish origin. This discovery precipitated an identity crisis born of the feeling that he was "neither a Christian nor a Jew."[6] Exacerbated by some later experiences with the Poles, these early feelings led the young Namier to reject the social values of his parents as so many prejudices and proddings toward traditionalism.[7] It seems that his rejection of parental values also helped make the boy attentive to the situation of the dispossessed Ukrainian peasantry and aroused his sympathy for these people.[8] Under the influence of his tutor, Edmond Weissberg, Namier's budding "socialism and nationalism acquired a romantic fervour,"[9] leading him to conclude at a later date that "every people ... should have its own land where it can develop its genius in a manner suited to its own mind and heart."[10]

Namier's studies took him to the universities of Lausanne and Oxford, where his primary interest was modern history. It was perhaps at this time that he evolved the vision of a national community based on the inviolable primordial attachment of man to land. An admirer of England's civil order,[11] Namier traced its genesis to the ownership of land. Professor Talmon has suggested that this was "one further reason for viewing the land as the matrix of liberty. For him [Namier] it is the focus of integrated ways and habits which make the man who lives by them feel self-assured and firmly fixed."[12]

[5] Julia Namier, *Lewis Namier: A Biography* (London, 1971), p. 31.
[6] Julia Namier, *Namier*, p. 35.
[7] J. L. Talmon, "The Ordeal of Sir Lewis Namier: The Man, the Historian, the Jew," *Commentary* 33 (March 1962): 239.
[8] Julia Namier, *Namier*, pp. 31, 38, 39.
[9] Julia Namier, *Namier*, p. 41.
[10] Julia Namier, *Namier*, p. 42.
[11] Arnold Toynbee, "Lewis Namier, Historian," *Encounter* 16 (January 1961): 40.
[12] Talmon, "Ordeal," p. 243.

In the introduction to his *England in the Age of the American Revolution*, Namier expressed his view of this relationship as follows:

The relations of groups of men to plots of land, of organized communities to units of territory, form the basic content of political history. The conflicting territorial claims of communities constitute the greater part of conscious international history; social stratifications and convulsions, primarily arising from the relationship of men to land, make the greater, not always fully conscious, part of the domestic history of nations.... To every man, as to Brutus, the native land is his life-giving Mother, and the State raised upon the land his law-giving Father; and the days cannot be long of a nation which fails to honour either .... There is some well-nigh mystic power in the ownership of space—for it is not the command of resources alone which makes the strength of the landowner, but that he has a place in the world which he can call his own, from which he can ward off strangers, and in which he himself is rooted.... In land alone can there be real patrimony, and he who as freeman holds a share in his native land—the freeholder—is, and must be, a citizen.[13]

For Namier, therefore, land was more than the source of life—it was the cornerstone of the entire civil order. Just as Antaeus fighting Heracles gained new strength every time he touched the earth, which was his mother, Gaea, so man derived the very sustenance of economic, social, and political life from the land on which he lived.

A logical corollary to the above was the pursuit of individual freedom, which Namier thought could best be secured in one's own national state. Indeed, he insisted that "the first logical inference of individual liberty and popular sovereignty is the claim to national self-determination."[14] As a man who "worshipped political and personal liberty,"[15] Namier was naturally a dedicated supporter of suppressed peoples. However, he remained deeply "suspicious of ideologies and of the intellectuals who proclaimed them."[16] Namier was particularly critical of the linguistic and cultural credo of nationalistic liberals who, he believed, did not perceive "the interplay between groups of men and tracts of land which forms the essence of history."[17] The animosities and tensions this linguistic or ideological kind of nationalism

[13] Sir Lewis Namier, *England in the Age of the American Revolution* (London, 1963), p. 18.
[14] L. B. Namier, *Avenues of History* (New York, 1952), pp. 20, 28.
[15] Isaiah Berlin, "Lewis Namier: A Personal Impression," in *A Century of Conflict*, ed. Martin Gilbert (London, 1966), p. 230.
[16] Henry R. Winkler, "Sir Lewis Namier," *Journal of Modern History* 35 (March 1963): 1, 14.
[17] Lewis Namier, *1858: The Revolution of the Intellectuals* (London, 1946), p. 24.

generated became, to him, the very nemesis of the movement toward self-government and liberty.[18]

It can be suggested that the primordial attachment Namier observed among the Ukrainian peasants to their land and his high regard for English civility became the cornerstone of his political Weltanschauung. This may account for his support of the Ukrainians and for his becoming Zionist at a later time.

Namier's active involvement in the East Galician question dates from January 1919, when the first Allied reports on the Ukrainian Polish confrontation began to arrive. These came from the British mission to Poland headed by Colonel H. H. Wade, assisted by Captain T. F. Johnson, who acted as a liaison with the Ukrainians. Their reports and suggestions for a possible demarcation line between the two armies, dated January 15 and 17, met with considerable criticism from Namier, who in minuting the reports suggested that the proposal was unfair to the Ukrainians. He urged that the "principles of justice [be] applied to East-Galicia," for "if the line indicated by Col. Wade is imposed on the Ukrainians, then of course one can hardly expect the Ukrainians to stop fighting. The leaders may agree, the rank and file will not obey."[19]

From the first, Namier had serious misgivings about the objectivity of the reports issued by this and the other Allied missions sent to Poland. That his apprehensions, which he impressed upon other members of the Political Intelligence Department, were well founded is a matter of record.[20] Sir James Headlam-Morley, the department's assistant director, wrote to Namier (20 March 1919) about the one-sidedness of the Allied missions: "Your prognostications have come quite true and I understand that the members of the mission to Warsaw have all become pure Poles."[21] The reports of Majors A. L. Paris and M. H. King support these observations, as we shall see.

Writing to Sir P. Wyndham (23 May 1919), Major Paris, the British minister to Poland, quite obviously goes beyond what constitutes a factual situation report. Citing for confirmation a certain Joseph Whiskin, a manager of Elgin Scott and Karl Baker Co., Paris writes that

[18] Sir Lewis Namier, *Vanished Supremacies: Essays on European History, 1812-1918* (New York, 1958), p. 165 (also see pp. 46, 53).
[19] FO 371/3897, doc. 4306.
[20] Mykhailo Lozyns'kyi, *Ukrains'ka revoliutsiia: Halychyna v rr. 1918-1920* (Vienna, 1922), pp. 74-75; also Deruga, *Polityka wschodnia*, p. 239.
[21] Agnes Headlam-Morley, ed., *Sir James Headlam-Morley: A Memoir of the Paris Peace Conference, 1919* (London, 1972), pp. 52-53, 146-147.

a Ukrainian "is hardly ever capable of rising to a position requiring much skill or training or even to an ordinary foreman... [Ukrainians] appear less capable of governing than the Poles and to have a lower average of intelligence." His most far-reaching statement concerned the national consciousness of the Ukrainians. After conducting a supposedly careful investigation, Paris reported that "except for a declaration by a Ruthenian pastor, of a shifty appearance, and a few sentences from an engineer, who did not seem very intelligent, no Ukrainians seemed to worry about being a nation. The Ukrainians' 'national movement' is artificial. Most Ruthenians said they only wanted peace and food, and could live quite happily with the Poles."[22]

Namier responded to this report in a lengthy note to Sir William Tyrrell, head of the Political Intelligence Department, in which he challenged both its facts and conclusions. Namier expressed his surprise that "Major Paris's report seems to pronounce judgment on questions which one would not expect any one to be able to decide without a thorough knowledge of the country, its people, their language and without years of thorough study," since the major obviously did not possess those qualifications. On the question of the Ukrainians' ability to govern themselves and others, Namier had this retort:

> Major Paris thinks that his impression that the Poles are better fit to govern, is an argument for submitting East-Galicia to Polish rule. On the same basis it would be profitable for the whole of Poland to come under German rule.... If the Ukrainians have not at present as big an educated class and as many well-trained officials as would be desirable, this is because they have been subject to Polish dominion under Austria and because all the best posts in the government were reserved for the Poles—hardly a reason for continuing the injustice.

Namier concluded his note by deploring the fact that all the Allied missions see the Ukrainians "through Polish eyes."[23]

In his second report (May 29) Paris continued to press his points on the Ukrainians' incompetence to rule and on their excesses while in power. According to him the Ukrainian army was undisciplined, "obeying their officers only when they chose, largely run by Austrians, and in no sense a 'national army.'" The soldiers' behavior had alienated the majority of the Jewish, Polish, and Ukrainian population, who consequently welcomed the advancing Polish army. The conclusion he draws is that "the Ukrainian regime was not one that

[22] FO 371/3907, doc. 82824.
[23] FO 371/3907, doc. 82824, pp. 156-158.

people should be expected to live under, and the Poles are right in endeavouring to press the point before the Conference."

In another note to Tyrrell, Namier again challenged the veracity of Major Paris's report, this time point-by-point, and again disputed the validity of his conclusions. He particularly questioned the outrages that Ukrainians allegedly committed against the Jews. He believed that on the whole, they were "less serious than those proved to have been committed by the Poles against the Jews" and illustrated his point with several examples. Namier concluded his note by imputing partisanship to Paris's report:

> Lastly I beg to submit that reliable evidence about the real nature of the Ukrainian government cannot be gathered from representatives invited and shown round by the Poles after the Ukrainians had retreated, but only from people who were on the spot while the Ukrainians were in power. Captain Johnson, R.N., was with the Ukrainians between December 1918 and February 1919, and for this time he emphatically states that the government was carried on in a decent and proper manner. Mr. R. Butler of the British Relief Mission and Colonel Jones were with the Ukrainians on May 22nd, and their report, forwarded to us by Sir William Goode, "Missions 300/135," does not contain a single word about anarchy or misrule among the Ukrainians or of lack of discipline and Bolshevism in the Ukrainian army, which by the Poles and their friends is usually described as a "barbaric horde of robbers."[24]

Namier found the report of Major M. H. King of the British Military Mission to Poland, dated 9 June 1919, quite like that of Major Paris —"full of glaring inaccuracies." Again writing a three-page note to Tyrrell, Namier documented King's incompetence and outright prejudice, pointing out that "it is hardly fair to judge any government by what is said about it under enemy bayonets," as Major King had done.[25]

Besides gathering information for the Entente, the missions also acted as agents for the Paris Peace Conference that was trying to effect an armistice between the Polish and the Ukrainian army. Their success was only temporary since the armistice concluded on February 26 was terminated a mere two days later. Armistice negotiations resumed on March 27, but all subsequent efforts were to no avail. The war continued with even greater vigor as General Stanisław Haller and his army joined the fight against the Ukrainians, violating the commitment that this force, organized and armed in the West, would

[24] FO 371/3907, doc. 86258, pp. 178-182. For treatment of the Jews see also FO 371/3907, doc. 109220.

[25] FO 371/3907, doc. 89887, pp. 184-222.

be used only against the Bolsheviks.[26] As the abortive efforts toward a Polish-Ukrainian armistice were being made, however, the Commission on Polish Affairs of the Paris Peace Conference drew up a report proposing a territorial border and a basis for a permanent settlement.[27]

Because he believed that the Poles were uninterested in reaching an understanding with the Ukrainians on any but their own terms, particularly since Haller's army could pursue the Polish advantage even further into Eastern Galicia,[28] Namier suggested (May 10) that until the East Galician problem was resolved it might be "best if ... it was put under a High Commissioner of the League of Nations."[29] This, he believed, would prevent a military *fait accompli* while permitting the Paris Peace Conference greater freedom of action in disposing of the Galician question.

The first significant step toward the solution of the Galician conflict was taken on June 17, when the Commission on Polish Affairs presented a lengthy report about Eastern Galicia which included statistical information and suggested boundaries and alternative solutions for the political status of the country.[30] The following day the foreign ministers of the principal powers met at Quai d'Orsay and, using the commission's report as a basis for discussion, sought to determine the future of Galicia. The conference's only result was the decision to approve the advance of the Polish troops "up to River Zbruch without prejudice to the future of the country."[31] Before the meeting, British Foreign Minister A.J. Balfour circulated a note in which he suggested the appointment of a High Commissioner for Eastern Galicia under the League of Nations. He also insisted that the Ukrainians "be told that, though the Poles are temporarily in occupation of their country, they are acting under the directions of the League of Nations, and that the Ruthenians will be given a full opportunity of deter-

[26] Deruga, *Polityka wschodnia*, pp. 237-254. The most serious Allied effort to reach an armistice was made in May 1919, but it, too, was unsuccessful. For details see FO 371/3907, pp. 114-121; also Natalia Gąsiorowska-Grabowska, ed., *Dokumenty: Materialy do historii stosunków polsko-radzieckich*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1961), pp. 218-19, 227-29, 244-46; and *Foreign Relations of the United States: Paris Peace Conference, 1919*, vol. 5 (Washington, D.C., 1944), pp. 754-55, 775-99.

[27] See Report no. 2 of the Commission on Polish Affairs, War Office 106/976.

[28] Cf. FO 371/3907, docs. 72158 and 77887.

[29] FO 371/3907, doc. 67131.

[30] FO 371/3907, doc. 92010, pp. 226-237.

[31] FO 371/4377, doc. 4389, pp. 1-8.

mining by plebiscite, within limits to be fixed by the League of Nations, what their future status is to be."[32]

The meeting of the foreign ministers was reconvened on June 25. At the proposal of Robert Lansing, the secretary of state of the United States, it was unanimously agreed to authorize Polish administration of Eastern Galicia, conditional, however, upon broad autonomy for the territory. Article 4 of the agreement also stated that "the agreement shall be predicated upon the ultimate self-determination of the inhabitants of Eastern Galicia as to their political allegiance, the time for the exercise of such choice to be hereafter fixed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers or by a body to whom they may delegate that Power." Britain's steadfast opposition to the outright annexation of Galicia by Poland was wholly responsible for the inclusion of this provision.[33] Even so, the Ukrainians protested the agreement as their army was making a last stand, but both efforts proved in vain.

Since questions regarding a plebiscite and the country's structure of government had yet to be decided, the Poles, the Ukrainians, and their supporters continued to campaign for their respective causes. The Poles hoped to effect as complete an incorporation of Eastern Galicia into Poland as possible, while the Ukrainians wished to make the country autonomous by guaranteeing the right to self-determination through the proposed plebiscite. To undermine the latter's efforts in this direction, the Poles provided the Western states with numerous reports of alleged atrocities committed by Ukrainians. Namier minuted one of these reports extensively, concluding that the Poles "try to justify their action by tales of Ruthene atrocities. A peasant in revolt and driven to utter despair is not soft-handed to his oppressor. But this is not a sufficient reason for continuing Polish dominion over Ruthene country."[34]

The day after he made this statement (July 4), Namier learned that his family house in Koshylivtsi had been looted and set on fire by Ukrainians. Yet even this personal tragedy did not affect his pro-Ukrainian sentiments; on the contrary, Namier praised the Ukrainians for having maintained order as long as they had:

[32] FO 371/4377, doc. 4389, p. 9.
[33] FO 371/4377, doc. 4389, pp. 1-9. For the American account of the June 25 meeting, see *Foreign Relations of the United States: Paris Peace Conference* 4: 848-55.
[34] FO 371/3907, doc. 95869.

They strove hard to be a proper government. But a peasant nation exasperated by centuries of oppression and fighting for its life against landowners—and the foreign dominion for which these stand—cannot be expected to show superhuman self-control. My father was always on the Polish side and known to be closely involved with the Polish nobility. The wave of cruel reprisals could hardly by-pass him.... For all my personal loss and anxieties I do insist that grievous wrong has been done to the Ukrainians.[35]

After June 25 only two objectives received Namier's attention: (1) securing for Eastern Galicia an internationally sanctioned constitution which would provide for far-reaching autonomy; (2) preventing the Poles from violating the civil rights of the minorities or any provisions in the proposed constitution.

In August 1919, the Allied Commission on Polish Affairs submitted a forty-article constitution for consideration. Upon close examination Namier found the document

most unsatisfactory... our delegation does not seem to have followed out any leading principle, whilst the French and Americans clearly aimed at preparing for a Polish annexation of East-Galicia. The result is that the Minority proposals of our delegation look like the expression of mental discomfort rather than of well-considered views.

After a three-page general critique of the document, Namier examines it article by article while recommending specific changes. Thus he criticizes Article 1 for "nibbling" at the Ukrainian ethnic frontier and Article 6 for being too vague, suggesting that "special protection should be given to discussion and propaganda preparatory to the ultimate settling of East-Galicia's fate, i.e., to the plebiscite." Namier was particularly critical of Article 7, which he believed to be deliberately discriminatory against the Jews. He recommended that the article be amended to protect Galicia's Jewish minority.

Namier found Article 9, providing that "there shall be no systematic introduction into Eastern Galicia of colonists from outside," unacceptably vague. To strengthen its intent, he suggested that there "be some provision that people settled in East-Galicia after 1914, or at least after the coming into force of this Treaty, should have no vote in the future plebiscite, nor even in the elections, or the electorate will be artificially swamped in finely balanced constituencies by Polish voters introduced ad hoc."[36]

[35] Julia Namier, *Namier*, p. 144.
[36] FO 371/3907, doc. 122897, pp. 345-364; also FO 371/4377, doc. 4389. See also Lozyns'kyi, *Ukrains'ka revoliutsiia*, pp. 155-167.

That Namier's concern over prospects for the Polish colonization of Eastern Galicia had a realistic basis is reflected in an article entitled "Artificial Ruthenization," published in the Warsaw newspaper *Dziennik Powszechny* on 14 December 1919. Its author stated quite openly that Poland's "most vital national interest would demand that those who are to receive the land [in Eastern Galicia] should be Poles; by settling Polish peasants on this land it would be possible to strengthen the Polish element in East-Galicia and, having thus strengthened it, retain the country forever for Poland."[37]

On December 9, Namier alerted Headlam-Morley of Polish plans and Paderewski's stratagem to delay the publication of the statute. Using the information Namier provided, Headlam-Morley prepared a note for the Foreign Office, dated December 18, in which he said that there is reason to suspect "a plan by which the Polish landlords in East-Galicia would settle great numbers of Polish colonists on their estates." In conclusion he states, "Surely what we ought to aim at is the establishment of a strong, national Polish State, which is a very different thing from an imperialist Poland ruling over subjects and hostile nationalities."[38]

Namier was quite critical of Britain's departure from the original principle "of East-Galicia as a self-governing State under the League of Nations." He felt, however, that the principle of self-determination for the Ukrainians might still be maintained if the mandate was truly temporary and the future of the province was predicated upon a free plebiscite.[39] In a note to Sir John Tilley (29 September 1919), Namier restated what he considered a basic principle of the British foreign policy towards Galicia. He wrote:

> We ourselves are so deeply committed to the principle of national rights and self-determination, and have so clearly and so often emphasised the conclusions to be drawn from it with regard to East-Galicia that it is hard to see how, without the gravest consequences to our policy, we can now execute a *volte face*....[40]

[37] FO 371/4384, doc. 4330.
[38] FO 371/4384, doc. 4330, pp. 207-216. Headlam-Morley's note mentioned that on June 5, Lloyd George had told Paderewski of his disappointment with the imperialist policies of the small states, obviously referring to Poland. See *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939*, vol. 3 (London, 1949), p. 352.
[39] FO 371/3907, doc. 122897, p. 348.
[40] FO 371/3907, doc. 134193.

Namier also reacted strongly when he thought that the principle of self-determination would be undermined by the quasi-plebiscite sponsored by the National Democrats in the Polish Diet on October 30. In his note to Headlam-Morley of November 28, he pointed out that: (1) "Poland has no right to order such a plebiscite or determine the mode in which, and the territory over which, it is to be held; (2) "No plebiscite can be held under the military occupation of an interested party."[41]

Namier's report produced the desired effect. On 24 February 1920, the British Delegation to the Ambassador's Conference submitted a memorandum to the council protesting the resolution to hold the projected plebiscite adopted by the Polish Diet on 25 November 1919. Repeating Namier's arguments, verbatim in some places, the memorandum proposes that "a joint representation should be addressed to the Polish Government warning them that any election held under present conditions will be considered by the Allies as null and void...."[42] The British Delegation reiterated the same arguments in the proposed "Communication to the Polish Government," which they hoped would be supported by other delegations. Despite the concerted Polish efforts to annex Eastern Galicia permanently, Namier was still "convinced that the Poles could be got to moderate their attitude on many important points and to give up some of their absurd adventures by which they render a pacification of Eastern Europe impossible, and their own future, to say the least, very problematical."[43]

Namier's concern obviously went far beyond securing the right to self-determination for the Ukrainians. By counseling moderation and equality of treatment for all people, he hoped to contribute toward a more equitable arrangement of ethnic relations in that part of the world, one which would be more conducive to the mutual accomodation of the people involved. It would, of course, be a mistake not to recognize the special interest Namier had in the future of the Galician Ukrainians and Jews. He worked on their behalf with dedication and some results. An indication of his success is that even Namier's enemy, Roman Dmowski, was forced to recognize his

[41] FO 371/4384, doc. 4330, p. 279.
[42] FO 371/3901, doc. 4389.
[43] FO 371/4384, "Note on Interview with the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs," 23 January 1920.

considerable influence on the British policy toward Poland.[44] Indeed, Lewis Namier remains one of the few historians fortunate enough to influence history as well as to record it.

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[44] An anti-Semite, Dmowski deplored the fact that, in his words, "such a little Galician Jew could play such an important role in the Polish question" (Roman Dmowski, *Polityka polska i odbudowanie państwa* [Warsaw, 1925], p. 226).

DOCUMENTS

A TURKISH DOCUMENT IN UKRAINIAN FROM THE MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY: ON THE ORIGIN OF THE UKRAINIAN COSSACKS

JAROSLAV STEPANIV

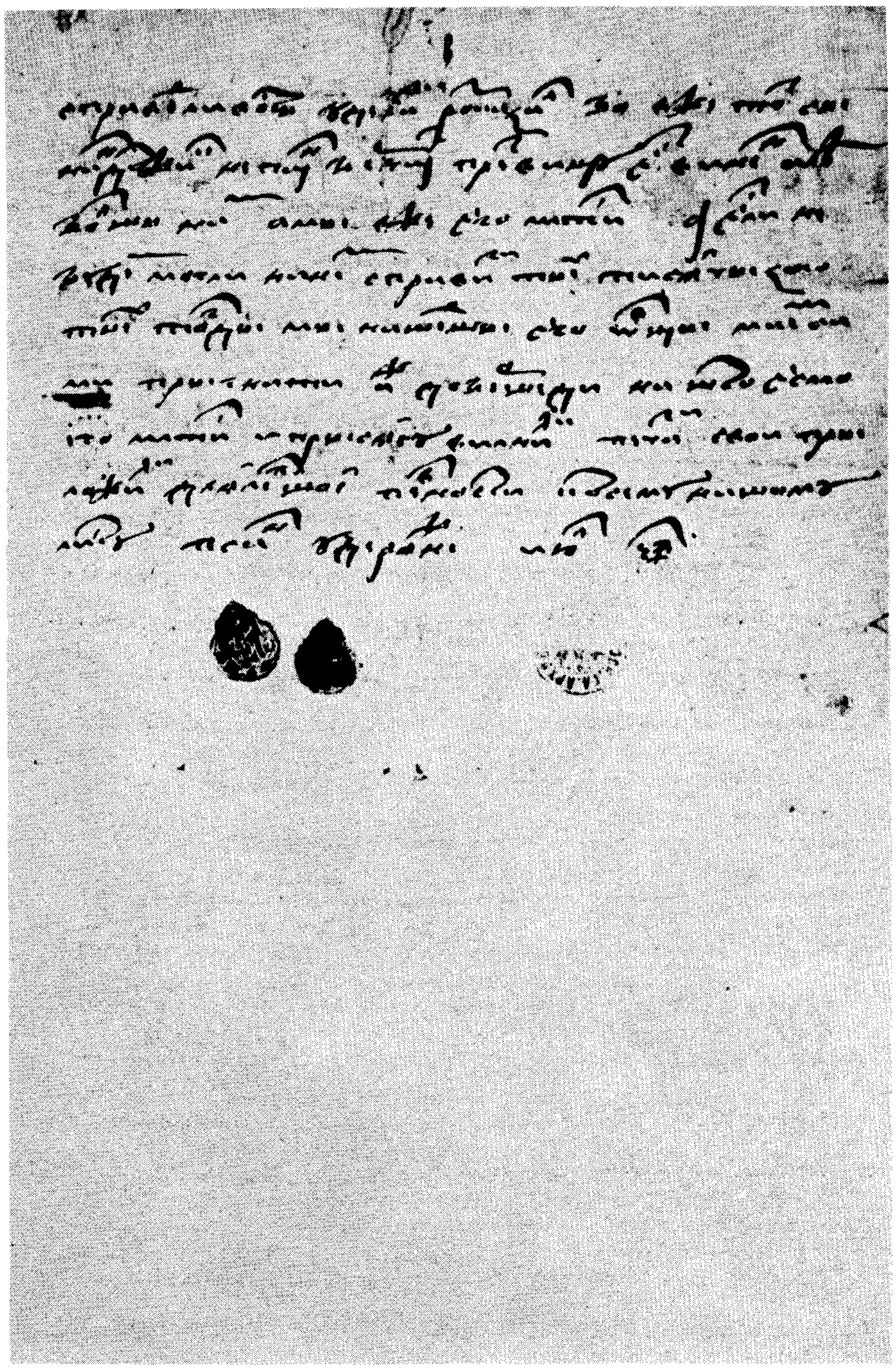
Four Turkish letters dated to 1542-43, written in Ukrainian, have recently been published as historical sources and unique examples of the Ukrainian language in the Danube district.[1] These were found in Warsaw's Main Archive of Ancient Acts (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych), which contains another, similar document. This is the obligation of two inhabitants, Ali and Nasuf, of Bilhorod (Turkish Akkerman) on the Black Sea to the captain of Bar, Bernard Pretwicz (Bernat Pretvič), relatively dated to 1541-52. The document was first mentioned by Polish Orientalist Zygmunt Abrahamowicz in 1959;[2] his description, however, was not entirely satisfactory.[3]

The obligation of Ali and Nasuf is of interest not only as a sample of Ukrainian writing which testifies to the spread of the Ukrainian language among the Turkish population on the northwestern coast of the Black Sea. It is also important because this document contains perhaps the earliest mention of the Cossacks of Podillja, a reference which calls for a reconsideration of facts about the genesis of Ukrainian Cossackdom. Because of its importance, a facsimile of the document is reproduced below, followed by a transcription and a translation. The latter divides the text into parts according to the rules of diplomatics.

[1] Ja. R. Daškevyč, "Turec'ke dyplomatyčne lystuvannja ukrajins'koju movoju v 40-x rr. XVI st." *Slavia*, 1969, no. 1, pp. 110-118; 1971, no. 2, pp. 246-249.

[2] Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, Dokumenty do dziejów Polski i krajów ościennych w latach 1445-1672, pt. 1 (Warsaw, 1959), p. 133. For a history of the given document, see A. Kłodziński, *O archiwum skarbca koronnego na zamku krakowskim*, Archiwum Komisji Historycznej, ser. 2, vol. 1 (Cracow, 1923), pp. 124-577. (In many cases these papers relate to the history of the Turkish Section of the archive.)

[3] Abrahamowicz does not describe the beginning of the document in detail. Also, he says, for instance, that Bar is mentioned in the obligation, whereas it does not appear and probably Beršad' is meant.



TRANSCRIPTION

[I,1] Па тата алы а бона̂ насуфъ туцы бегороски
зы [2] знаваѣ ты нашы листо и есмо оставили пау
[3] бенау прієвицу то на ли зозноваю што которы
[4] беки козаки его м̂ побра то донимага буду [5]
абы были беки сынадъжиковы которы бы [6] ло по
ѡми ста вси пошота̂ боны насуфа [7] а двесте ца-
ски што са ца стрелы роби сво [8] ими рукамі
и ты стрелы продаю а за ты пенга [9] зн ѡцы ку-
пуют и кгды мы понеха ѡ то [10] до его мати
и просили его абы ѡ на ты беки [11] на боны на-
суфа̂ та цаски вси поѡмата [12] венулъ наштo
есмо и прысагу свою вчинили пере [13] его матью
и то не суть ѡцы сынажиковы [14] але су то боны
насуфа̂ а цаски его мать [15] па превни яко доры
па уверишы прысязе [16] нашо ты бики на венулъ и
ты два̂ кони [17] которы у мене тата алыга бы вза̂
межы коми [18] татаскими да ми его м̂ за ни ишы
два [19] кони такъ доры га мои бы а што его мать
[20] бы вза̂ два̂ волы боны насуфовы попо з бика [21]
ми тоды его мать за ни добре заплати да за то [22]
па золоты челены жоты што мы ты лито нашы [23]
зозноваѣ и его мать на за наше досы учинн [24] и
каза на его м̂ провади с тыми ѡца̂ми чере [25] поле̂
и еще на его мать даровилъ [II, 26] а што са̂ дотыче
ѡ тата и коні татаски ѡ то [27] нашы сташы не стоя
ани те мы ани жаде ту [28] чи бы те и и пере нами
бито тоды мы и [29] ни чо помога небуде и еще
бымо ему сами на ни [30] помоли або мы ведаѣ
яки шкоды ты пога [31] цы делаю в земли корола̂ его
м̂ и ромніа сшинаю [32] межы царе пано нашы а
короле его матью где ѡ [33] то нашы сташы хотя
полати до цара̂ его [34] м̂ абы его м̂ ты тата

ѿстатокъ што не сѹть збн [35] тыї казали выгнати з бе-
лагорода а то для того [36] ижь бымы дорого были в
Мирѹ панове нашыї [37] а мы быхмо тежъ шкоды не
мевали и бепени бын [38] а нашых дорогх кгды бы тыї
погански не были [39] в нашомъ белагороде бо тыї пасы
шкодать [40] въ короля его м зелн а потомъ за нимн
до нас [41] ходать и для ннх мыї мѣваемъ шкодыї в до-
брах [42] нашых прото для того хоче полати до ца
[43] ря его матн абы нх казал выгнати з бела [44] го-
рода где нато тыї нашы лито вызна [45] ваема же
есмо прнсягѹ вунни пану бенатѹ [46] претвнцѹ ижь еще
мае выправити тисячѹ [47] золотых уеленых на тотъ сына-
джикѹ и ѿ того [48] до цря его матн полати свои
накладомъ [49] абы на его мать с тым сынаджиком
[III,50] справедливость вдела рознказал бо вже тот сы [51] на-
джнк не пану бенатѹ претвнцѹ ест винен але [52] кошь нам
а мы вже его матн оголн не [53] бѹдемъ могли на
нем справити тых тисячы золо [54] тых тогды мы нашед-
шы его ѿцы мае са [55] мн прыгнати ажъ до беше-
дн на што есмо [56] его матн н прысягѹ вун-
нин пекта свои пры [57] ложнли для лепшое пенности къ
семѹ нашомѹ [58] литѹ писанъ ѹ деражне июля еі

TRANSLATION

1541-1552 [probably about 1548][4] July 15. Deražnja—An obligation of two inhabitants of Bilhorod, the Tatar, Ali, and the Bosnian, Nasuf, to the captain of Bar, Bernard Pretwicz, confirming that the latter had compensated for damage wrought by the Cossacks, that the Bilhorod elders would ask the sultan Süleyman to drive the Tatars away from the suburbs of the town, and that Ali and Nasuf would satisfy the claims of Pretwicz to Synandžik.

[A] I, the Tatar Ali, and the Bosnian, Nasuf, Bilhorod Turks, hereby witness that [we] have left pan Bernat Pretvič this, here, our letter, testifying that

[4] An explanation of this dating follows.

[B_1] In connection with the sheep his lordship's Cossacks had driven away (thinking that these sheep belonged to Synandžik) of which there were 750: 550 of them belonged to the Bosnian Nasuf and 200 to the tsar[5] (the tsar himself made arrows and then sold them and for that money he bought the sheep);

And when we came in connection with this to his lordship and asked him to return these sheep, both those of the Bosnian Nasuf and the tsar's, 750 in all, we swore to his lordship that those sheep did not belong to Synandžik, but they were the sheep of the Bosnian Nasuf and the tsar;

His lordship, pan Pretvič, being a kind man, believed our oath and returned the aforenamed sheep and [for] the two horses which he had taken from me, the Tatar Ali, his lordship gave me two other horses just as good as mine were;

As to those two oxen which his lordship had taken from the Bosnian Nasuf together with the bulls, his lordship then paid well for them, giving five yellow-gold coins.

Here, by this letter, we confirm that his lordship has satisfied our claims; and that his lordship told us to go with these sheep through the field;[6] besides, his lordship has given us presents.

[B_2] As to the Tatars and the Tatar horses, they are of little importance to us, or our elders, or any other Turk. Were they beaten before us,[7] we would not have raised a hand to help them in anything and [we] would have helped him[8] on our own against [the Tatars] since we know what destruction these vile men cause to the lands of his highness, the king, and make war between the tsar, our master, and his highness, the king.

In connection with this, our elders want to send to his highness, our tsar, envoys who would ask him to make those Tatars that remain alive leave Bilhorod, so that we could live long in peace.

Our lordship and we would not have any trouble and would be safe on our property if those vile men were not in Bilhorod any longer; for those dogs cause destruction on the lands of his highness, the king, and then they are looked for and because of them we have trouble on our lands.

5 the Ottoman sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566).

6 the steppes

7 i.e., before our eyes

8 Pretwicz

For this and because of this, we want to send envoys to his highness, the tsar, so that he would order them to be driven [away] from Bilhorod.

Hereby we witness that we have sworn allegience to our pan Bernat Pretvič.

[B_3] Besides, we have to extort a thousand red-gold pieces from this said Synandžik, and because of this we are to send envoys at our own expense to his highness, the tsar, so that his highness should order justice to be done with the said Synandžik, since the said Synandžik already owes us and not pan Bernat and we [in turn] owe his lordship.

And if we are not able to get these hundred gold coins back from him, then we, having found his sheep, must take them right to Beršad'.

This we have sworn to his lordship.

[B_4] To this our obligation, for greater certainty, we affix our seals.

[C] Written in Deražnja, July 15.

The Main Archive of Ancient Acts in Warsaw, the Crown Archive, Turkish Section, file 139, no. 262. Manuscript. Original.

The document is written on three folded sheets of medium-weight white paper. At the end of the text there are two pear-shaped seals with stylized script in Arabic ligature (a few fragments can be deciphered on the left seal; the right seal is illegible).[9] The same file contains a contemporary translation of the obligation into Polish (no. 263), as well as a brief Russian summary.

Without undertaking a thorough linguistic analysis of the document (although this would be worthwhile, for the obligation is an outstanding specimen of Ukrainian business correspondence during the mid-sixteenth century), let us deal briefly with some of its outward peculiarities.

The writing of the document is similar to the cursive script of the Kiev school of the early period, with a slight influence of the south Slavonic script. For the most part, the letters are written separately—only a few ligatures are present. Yet, certain letters are noticeably indistinct (especially *а, о, я; е* is similar in most cases to present-day *е; і* is written with and without the dot). Letters above the line are quite common, both with the contraction sign *(б, в, г, к, л, н, с, ш)* and without *(д, р, м, ш, х, с, т, ц)*. The ѣ above the line is rare in

[9] See Abrahamowicz, *Katalog dokumentów.*

Ukrainian writings of that time. There are a number of *zmety* (letters written above the line and connected with others in the line; for instance *mь* in the middle or at the end of the word). A special peculiarity is the presence of graphic doublets, as for *m, y*. In considering phonetics and orthography, which are also reflected in paleography, the following should be mentioned: the combining of two letters to mark the affricate /g/(*кгды*), the presence of *щ*(*сщинают*), the use of two different letters for one sound—*e, o, я*—as well as the use of the hard sign *ъ* in the middle of a word (*синандъжик, пъсы*). An interesting diacritical mark which appears above the second stroke of the letter in *ы, и* is two dots above a line (this has not been deciphered as an *и* above the line). Intrapunctuation is, on the whole, lacking. Capital letters are used in only three cases—at the beginning of the document (*Я*), at the beginning of one of the sentences (*A*), and in the word '*Миру*'. All these peculiarities are clearly visible in the reproduction and, wherever possible, were taken into consideration in the transcription of the document.

When the paleographic pecularities of the given document are compared with those of 1542-1543, whose origin was undoubtedly the Danube area (i.e., they were written by Bilhorod clerks in the steppes of the Black Sea region between Tehinja and the Savran River, near the Teligol marsh), it becomes clear that the obligation of Ali and Nasuf was written by a local Ukrainian clerk, a follower of Bernard Pretwicz (the document was written in Deražnja, which was then located in the Bar district [*capitaneatus, starostwo*] of Podillja). This conclusion is upheld when one approaches the text from viewpoint of diplomatics, as we do below.

Having tentatively determined the origin and paleography of the document, let us consider its diplomatic data. The obligation was written by a clerk of the captain to confirm an oral agreement between the Bilhorod Turks, Ali and Nasuf, on the one hand, and the captain of Bar, a Silesian German by birth, Bernard Pretwicz (Bernat Pretvič), on the other. The clerk wrote the document in a language known to both parties, i.e., the Ukrainian language of that time, which was commonly used in relations between Poland, Lithuania, Turkey, the Crimea, and Moldavia. In accordance with Eastern custom, the document was confirmed by seals (*mühür*), not signatures. An analysis of the document's structure, however, reveals that it was composed more under the influence of Western than Eastern (Turkish) traditions. The substitution of seals for signatures is its only Eastern trait, whereas

Western traditions are reflected in all other elements, including the elaborateness of structure.

The introductory protocol (A) is limited to the intitulation of the authors and the *inscriptio* referring to the addressee. The *contextus* (B—the main body of the document) presents three points of the case (B_1, B_2, B_3). Each point contains its own *narratio* and *dispositio*. In B_1, the *narratio* is about the attack of the Cossacks, the arrival of Ali and Nasuf at the house of Pretwicz, their oath, and the compensation that they received; the *dispositio* is the declaration that their claims have been satisfied. In B_2, the *narratio* is about the strained relationship between the Bilhorod Turks and the Tatars; the *dispositio* is the promise to ask the sultan to drive the Tatars from the outskirts of Bilhorod. In B_3, the *dispositio*, which is the obligation of Ali and Nasuf to extract the claims of Pretwicz from Synandžik, is unclear without the *narratio*. All three issues (B_1, B_2, B_3) are concluded by one *corroboratio* (B_4), indicating the manner by which the document was authenticated, i.e., the mention of the seals. The *eschatocol* (C) is represented by a *datatio*, briefly denoting the place, day, and month of writing. The absence of the year may be explained as a peculiar compromise between the authors and the addressee, for the Christian chronology may have been unpleasant to the Mohammedan authors, and vice versa.[10] This diplomatic analysis of the document's structure indicates that the level of business correspondence in such provincial places as the district of Bar and Deražnja (the latter was then a village comprising only a few huts)[11] was, on the whole, no worse than that in any contemporary urban center of the Ukraine or Poland.

Nothing is known about the authors of the document other than what they say in it themselves. From the text, it is clear that Ali (< ʿAlī) and Nasuf (< Naṣūḥ) were well-to-do delegates from Turkish Bilhorod, who could not only demand large retributions, but also make promises of a political nature. The addressee, on the other hand, is a well-known figure of the mid-sixteenth century. Bernard Pretwicz was a Silesian noble who had settled in the Ukraine at the end of the 1530s and there headed a section of light cavalry under the Polish field com-

[10] For the Turkish letters in Ukrainian previously cited, the dates 1542-1543 as the time of writing were determined through indirect data.

[11] The revision of 1552 recorded only seven souls and four who had died in epidemics. See *Slownik geograficzny Królewstwa Polskiego i innych krajów slowiańskich*, vol. 15, pt. 1 (Warsaw, 1900), pp. 402-403.

mander (*hetman polny*) Mikołaj Sieniawski. Pretwicz's service in the army and victories over the Tatars and Moldavians won him a fame that found its way into a saying of the time: "Za časiv pana Pretvyča spala vid tatariv hranycja [In the times of pan Pretwicz no Tatars disturbed the frontiers]." While serving as captain of Bar from 1541-52,[12] Pretwicz organized Podillja's strong defense against Tatar attack. His activity is favorably appraised in contemporary Polish historiography.[13]

In Ukrainian history, Pretwicz is known as the author of an "Apology" written to justify his actions on the Lithuanian-Turkish frontier. It was composed in reply to a complaint lodged by the Turkish sultan and was read in the king's senate on 14 December 1550. The author describes the skirmishes on the Lithuanian-Turkish frontier and commemorates the Tatar attacks on the Ukraine that occurred during the ten years he was captain. The apology's significance as an historical source has long been marked by historians.[14]

Some parts of the apology may deal with the events mentioned in the obligation of Ali and Nasuf. In his account of the events of 1548 (the year is approximate, for there are no dates in the apology), Pretwicz says that the march of the Bilhorod Tatars to Bar was headed by Isihodza and Tortaj, who were accompanied by "Sinanczykow Kilicia." Considering that the onomastics of the apology is confused in many places (it was doubtlessly published from a badly deciphered copy), this "Sinanczyk" is probably identical with the "Synandžik" of our document, especially since the Bilhorod Tatars were routed only four miles from Bar.[15] Since Synandžik is mentioned in both the apology and our document, the latter can be supposed also to date around 1548.

Having tentatively determined the conditions in which the obligation of Ali and Nasuf was written, and the importance of the people mentioned therein, we can proceed to study the parts of the text

[12] As captain (*starosta*) of Bar, Pretwicz was first mentioned in the year 1541; see M. Bielski's *Kronika*, vol. 2 (Sanok, 1856), p. 1085. In 1552, Pretwicz became *starosta* of Terebovlja (see *Matricularum Regni Poloniae summaria*, pt. 5, vol. 1 [Warsaw, 1910], nos. 1283, 1284). He died in 1561.

[13] W. Pociecha, "Sląski bohater Bernard Pretwicz," *Śląsk* (Jelenia Góra, 1946), no. 10, pp. 6-13.

[14] Published in J. T. L[ubomirski], "Bernard Pretwicz i jego apologia na sejmie 1550 r.," *Biblioteka Warszawska*, 1866, no. 3, pp. 44-59.

[15] L[ubomirski], "Bernard Pretwicz," p. 58.

directly relevant to the problems of the Cossacks' origin and their initial role as an organization.

Let us quickly review the events which were related in the obligation. Because of a monetary conflict between Synandžik and Pretwicz, the latter's Cossack detachment seized a flock of sheep, believing that it belonged to Synandžik. The Cossacks also seized a number of cattle and horses and destroyed certain Tatar detachments, whose survivors dispersed and hid near Bilhorod; concurrently, they did some damage to the Turks. During this operation, the Cossacks had seized two horses that belonged to Ali and two oxen belonging to Nasuf. These two inhabitants of Bilhorod set out to see the captain of Bar, whom they found in Deražnja. Here, in the name of their town's elders, Ali and Nasuf spoke of the antagonism between the Turks of Bilhorod and the survivors of the defeated Tatar detachments. It appears that the Bilhorod elders intended to ask the sultan to drive away the defeated Tatars. According to the two Turks, the Tatars were the only reason for the fighting on the frontier which, in turn, affected Bilhorod. Pretwicz satisfied the claims of Ali and Nasuf, who then promised to comply with the requirements of the captain regarding Synandžik. Pretwicz gave the two men presents and dispatched an escort with them to safeguard their return trip to Bilhorod.

The document is, in effect, a fragment from everyday life on the steppe frontier of the mid-sixteenth century. Its greatest interest lies in the very mundanity of the events described. From these, the following observations can be drawn:

1. The Turks believed that the cause of the border conflicts was the plundering attacks of the Tatars.

2. The border between Poland-Lithuania and the Ottoman-Tatar state did not exist in unremitting warfare, as modern historiography often purports. It was also the scene of ordinary, peaceful, even neighborly trade relations.

3. Within the Turkish-Tatar camp there existed certain points of conflict caused by the counterattacks of the Cossacks. These affected not only the nomadic Tatars, but also the settled Turks.

4. The army detachments under the leadership of Pretwicz that took part in the skirmishes with the Tatars were called Cossacks ("Cossacks of his lordship") by both the Polish-Lithuanian and the Turkish-Tatar sides.

Few documents of the sixteenth century mention the Cossacks in this sense. In fact, Pretwicz's activity along the border with the

Cossacks is mentioned only once in this context—by Pretwicz himself in the above-mentioned apology: "Your most fair and gracious royal highness," Pretwicz writes, addressing Sigismund-Augustus, "Our guards, who are called Cossacks (*które zowią kozactwo*), lie in ambush between the roads, for when coming out on the fields outside Dombrova,[16] one finds such marshes where even four people could not pass unnoticed, since they can be seen from any place and it is difficult for them to run away. Here I and the sons of the palatine of Belz[17]—good and true servants of your royal highness, enemies of your enemies, your royal highness—and my servants (*służebnicy*) served well. In such a way, working on the fields of your royal highness, between the roads, I would prevent the Tatars [from coming] on your highness's lands. Should I find them on your highness's land I [...] would fight and defeat them."[18]

This excerpt was interpreted by Hruševs'kyj as proof "that in the middle of the sixteenth century *Cossacks* was a term used for guerilla warfare in the steppes [and] ambush of the enemy in the steppes with the aim of 'seizing' the foe."[19] The obligation of Ali and Nasuf fully contradicts this narrow, technical interpretation of the term *Cossacks*. Pretwicz wrote his apology to belittle the importance and role of the Cossacks in the struggle against the Tatar incursion in the Ukraine and thus undermine the principal argument of the Turkish complaint. He tried to persuade the king and the senate that the word *Cossacks* had a specific military meaning—i.e., "guards in the steppes"—and was limited geographically to the suburbs of Dombrova-Beršad'. Perhaps he succeeded in convincing the king and his council, for they were far from the border. On the border itself, however, such camouflage was impossible. The term *Cossacks* appears in its true meaning in the obligation, which was both contemporary with the apology and agreed upon by two conflicting parties. In the mid-sixteenth century, *Cossacks* was not a technical term denoting a

[16] Citing this text M. Hruševs'kyj inaccurately translated the toponym "Dombrova" (i.e., Beršad') as an "oak forest" (see his *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, vol. 7 [Kiev and L'viv, 1909], p. 80). Dombrova and Beršad' are mentioned as identical toponyms in documents of 1609 and 1622; see *Słownik geograficzny*, vol. 15, pt. 1, p. 114; A. Jabłonowski. *Polska XVI wieku pod względem geograficzno-statystycznym*, vol. 10, pt. 2 (Warsaw, 1894), p. 617, and vol. 11, pt. 3 (1897), pp. 233, 733.

[17] Mikołaj Sieniawski, palatine (*wojewoda*) of Belz, mentioned above as a Polish field commander. His sons could have been Hieronim and Mikołaj junior.

[18] L[ubomirski], "Bernard Pretwicz," pp. 51-52.

[19] Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, 7: 80-81.

kind of military force, but a general one for army detachments in the provinces of Podillja and Braclav which participated in both defensive and offensive actions against the Tatars.

During recent years some historians (V. Holobuc'kyj, in particular) have denied that the Polish king, Lithuanian noblemen, or any other feudal lords played a part in organizing the Cossacks as a military force on the Ukrainian lands.[20] Regardless of whether this view does or does not correspond with Ukrainian and Polish data, one must stress that Eastern, especially Turkish, sources of that time give definite, unambiguous information on the subject. Recently, the French historian Chantal Lemercier-Quelquejay found in the Archive of the Office of the Prime Minister in Stambul certain books describing events of 1559-60. These volumes contain copies of orders issued by the Imperial Council of the Ottoman Empire (Divan-i Hümayun) and the sultan himself.[21] The newly discovered Turkish sources add considerable data to our knowledge about the march of Prince D. Korybut-Vyšnevec'kyj and his Cossacks in 1559-60.[22] The investigations of Lemercier-Quelquejay confirm East European historiography's high assessment of the role Vyšnevec'kyj played in organizing the Ukrainian Cossacks.[23] Thus, it is imperative that the obligation of Ali and Nasuf be studied within the context of all sources that relate to Bernard Pretwicz and Cossack detachments during the mid-sixteenth century.

[20] For a review of various concepts on the origin of the Cossacks, see: G. Stökl, *Die Entstehung des Kosakentums* (Munich, 1953), pp. 17-32; Lubomyr Wynar, "Ohljad istoryčnoji literatury pro počatky kozaččyny," *Ukrajins'kyj istoryk*, 1965, nos. 1-2, pp. 28-37, and nos. 3-4, pp. 17-38.

[21] C. Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Une source inédite pour l'histoire de la Russie au XVI^e siècle: les registres des Mühimme Defterleri, des Archives du Baş-Vekâlet," *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique* 8, no. 2 (1967): 335-343.

[22] C. Lemercier-Quelquejay, "Un condottière lithuanien du XVI^e siècle: le prince Dimitrij Višneveckij et l'origine de la Seč Zaporogue d'après les archives ottomanes," *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique* 10, no. 2 (1969): 258-279.

[23] Reviewed in *Slovanský přehled*, 1971, no. 2, pp. 150.

MYKHAILO DRAHOMANOV AND THE EMS UKASE: A NOTE ON THE UKRAINIAN QUESTION AT THE 1878 INTERNATIONAL LITERARY CONGRESS IN PARIS

ROMAN SOLCHANYK

Beginning with his departure from Kiev in 1876 until his death in Sofia in 1895, Mykhailo Drahomanov's twenty years as a political émigré encompassed a wide range of publicistic activity directed against tsarist autocracy. Perhaps the least known of his writings in this area are those dealing with the Ems Ukase.[1] Introduced secretly through the censorship committees of the government bureaucracy, the ukase was virtually unknown outside Ukrainian circles in Russia. Drahomanov's articles on the suppression of the Ukrainian language and culture, written in several languages and scattered throughout various newspapers and journals, constituted the first attempt to inform the European world of the draconian measures initiated by St. Petersburg against what was perceived to be the threat of Ukrainian "separatism."

Arriving in Vienna in late February or early March of 1876, Drahomanov began his publicistic work with a long article in the Viennese daily *Neue freie Presse.*[2] Simultaneously, he published his *Po voprosu o malorusskoi literature* (Vienna, 1876), analyzing the hostile attitude in Russia toward all attempts by Ukrainian literature to establish itself as an independent entity. Drahomanov raised the issue of the Ems Ukase again in 1880 on the occasion of the unveiling of Pushkin's memorial and in 1881 during the International Literary Congress in Vienna.[3] His most ambitious effort, however, was a special report

[1] The Ems Ukase (18/30 May 1876) prohibited: (1) importation of Ukrainian books and brochures into Russia from abroad; (2) publication, with the exception of historical documents and belles lettres, of all original works and translations into Ukrainian; (3) all theatrical performances and lectures in Ukrainian; and (4) further publication of the newspaper *Kievskii telegraf.* For the full text of the ukase as well as other pertinent documents, see Roman Solchanyk, "Lex Jusephovicia 1876," *Suchasnist'* 16, no. 5 (May 1976): 36-68.

[2] "Russische Nivellirungs-Politik," *Neue freie Presse*, 19 July 1876, pp. 2-3.

[3] *Russkim pisateliam v den' otkrytiia pamiatnika A.S. Pushkinu 26 maia 1880 g.*

prepared for the first International Literary Congress convened by the Société des gens de lettres de France in Paris, 11-29 June 1878.[4]

The existing literature characterizes this episode in various ways. Some historians, including both Western and Soviet scholars, argue that Drahomanov did, in fact, present his report to the congress.[5] Others maintain that although Drahomanov himself was unable to address the delegates, Turgenev, one of the vice-presidents of the congress, briefly summarized his main points.[6] This latter view was upheld by Professor Il'ko Borshchak, a specialist in Franco-Ukrainian relations. Based in large part on Drahomanov's reminiscences of Turgenev, Borshchak wrote that "Turgenev in fact succeeded, albeit briefly, in relating the contents of Drahomanov's protest to the congress, and added an expression of regret on his own behalf regarding this kind of behavior by the Russian government."[7] The only occasion on which Drahomanov spoke, according to Borshchak, was a "tenne blanche" meeting of French masons at the Grand Orient de France on June 22.[8]

It appears that to date no one has utilized the stenographic report of the 1878 International Literary Congress as a source for Dra-

[Geneva, 1880]; "Communication présentée au Congrès Littéraire International de Vienne 1881," in *Perepyska Mykhaila Drahomanova z Mykhailom Pavlykom (1876-1895)*, vol. 3: *1879-1881*, comp. Mykhailo Pavlyk (Chernivtsi, 1910), pp. 517-19.

4 *La Littérature oukraïnienne proscrite par le gouvernement russe. Rapport présenté au Congrès Littéraire de Paris (1878) par Michel Dragomanow* (Geneva, 1878). The Ukrainian translation appeared in the L'viv journal *Pravda*, 1878, nos. 18-23, and was published as the second volume in Ivan Franko's series "Dribna Biblioteka" under the title *Literatura ukrains'ka proskrybovana riadom* [sic] *rossyis'kym* (L'viv, 1878). The report was also translated into German, Italian, Spanish, and Serbian. Cf. Volodymyr Mel'nyk, "Zustrich iz Drahomanovym," *Dnipro*, 1971, no. 9, p. 148.

5 Svitozar Drahomanov, "Ukaz 1876 roku pered sudom evropeis'kykh literatoriv u Paryzhi," *Suchasnyk* 1, no. 1 (January-February 1948): 143; M. D. Bernshtein, *Ukrains'ka literaturna krytyka 50-70-kh rokiv XIX st.* (Kiev, 1959), p. 200; Antin Verba, "Vystup M. Drahomanova na Paryz'komu literaturnomu kongresi," *Nasha kul'tura* (Warsaw), 1968, no. 9, p. 3; R. P. Ivanova, *Mykhailo Drahomanov u suspil'no-politychnomu rusi Rosii ta Ukrainy* (Kiev, 1971), p. 188.

6 D. Zaslavs'kyi and I. Romanchenko, *Mykhailo Drahomanov: Zhyttia i literaturnodoslidnyts'ka diial'nist'* (Kiev, 1964), p. 98; Vitalii Sarbei, "Krynytsia marksovoi dumky," *Vitchyzna*, 1969, no. 9, p. 178; I. I. Bass, "Poshyrennia idei marksyzmu-leninizmu na Ukraini v kintsi XIX i pochatku XX st.," in *Revoliutsiine onovlennia literatury* (Kiev, 1970), p. 12.

7 Il'ko Borshchak, *Drahomanov u Frantsii (za nevydanymy dokumentamy)* (Munich, 1957), p. 30. Borshchak's article was first published in *Ukrains'ka literaturna hazeta* (Munich), vol. 3, nos. 9-12 (September-December 1957).

8 Borshchak, *Drahomanov u Frantsii*, p. 30.

homanov's activities in Paris.[9] This material sheds new light on the Ukrainian question as raised and dealt with by the congress.

In his reminiscences of Turgenev, Drahomanov writes that his decision to attend the congress was made hastily, without adequate preparation:

> Having read in the newspapers that an international literary congress would be held under the patronage of persons such as V. Hugo and I. S. Turgenev, I decided to utilize this occasion to protest against an outrageous fact: the near total suppression of Ukrainian literature in Russia, and had no doubts as to the sympathetic response of the members of the congress. In a few days my brochure *La Littérature oukrainienne proscrite par le gouvernement russe* was improvised and published. The first ready copies along with appropriate letters were sent to the bureau of the congress and especially to V. Hugo and Turgenev—and after that I ran off to Paris with a trunk filled with copies of this brochure as well as with my Russian and Ukrainian publications.[10]

At the border, however, the trunk was confiscated and temporarily transferred to censorship officials in the French Ministry of the Interior. Moreover, en route to Paris, Drahomanov learned that the main item on the congress's agenda was to draft a law protecting authors' literary rights rather than to discuss cultural or political matters, which was a further setback for his plans.[11] Nonetheless, upon arriving at the congress, Drahomanov came to an agreement with Turgenev according to which the Russian writer was to distribute the brochures among the participants after these were released by the French authorities. They would then choose an appropriate session to address the congress and, depending on circumstances, propose a resolution for adoption. In the meantime, the few copies that Drahomanov managed to bring with him were given to chosen delegates.

One of the most interesting passages in Drahomanov's recollections concerns the Italian writer Mauro-Macchi. Its contents are also crucial for clarifying the confusion surrounding Drahomanov's activity at the congress. He writes:

9 Borshchak mentions the report but does not cite it. His conclusions do not indicate that it figured in his research.

10 M. Dragomanov, "Vospominaniia o znakomstve s I.S. Turgenevym," in *Pis'ma K. Dm. Kavelina i Iv. S. Turgeneva k Al. Iv. Gertsenu* (Geneva, 1892), p. 215.

11 For a discussion of the congress and its activities by one of the Russian delegates, see L. Polonskii, "Literaturnyi kongress v Parizhe," *Vestnik Evropy* 12, no. 8 (August 1878): 674-716.

related idioms.

Scholarship in these areas already has an established, sometimes significant research history, especially for the period since 1944, when extensive facilities for Ukrainian studies in Rumania were created.

REVIEW ARTICLES

UKRAINIAN LINGUISTICS IN RUMANIA: AN OVERVIEW

IOAN LOBIUC

The study of Ukrainian linguistics in Rumania has developed along five distinct lines, which can be categorized as follows.

1. The first is the study of the early and permanent interrelations and influences between the Rumanian and Ukrainian languages, which began, most scholars concur, in the 12th c.[1] The reasons for these interrelations are attributed variously: (a) to the proximity of the Daco-Rumanian and Ukrainian linguistic territory, along nearly half their common border; (b) to the intermingling of the Ukrainian and Rumanian populace and their respective dialects, both within enclaves and in territorial protrusions; (c) to the long and enduring friendly cultural relations between the two neighboring countries.

2. A second line of inquiry has been the thorough study of Ukrainian dialects (mostly of the southwestern type) on the territory of Rumania and of Rumanian dialects in the Ukraine, complemented by the study of their divergent modern development as influenced by the languages which surround these dialects or into which they wedge. This is of great importance for the history, dialectology and lexicology of the Ukrainian language, as well as for different branches of Rumanian linguistics.[2]

3. Analysis of the component and influence of written Middle Ukrainian in the church and business Slavonic language of Rumanian recension, especially in Moldavia, constitutes a third line of research.

[1] See V. Vascenco, "Elementele slave răsăritene în limba română

of culture on Rumanian territory (p. 167). Among scholars of the 19th c. whom Mihăilă discusses in his book are J. Venelin, first to establish the character of the Slavonic language used in old Rumanian charters (Middle Bulgarian in Wallachia and "South Ruthenian," i.e., Ukrainian, in Moldavia), as well as J. Ginkulov, F. Miklosich, Bishop Melchisedec (an alumnus of the Mohyla Academy in Kiev), A. Cihac, and B. Petriceicu Haşdeu.

The study notes that it is due to the outstanding scholar Ioan Bogdan (1864-1919) that Rumanian Slavic studies became a separate

1. The first issue, the broadest and most inclusive one, concerns crossinfluences between the Ukrainian and Rumanian language.

The question of Ukrainian influence on Rumanian is, in general, treated thoroughly and well. Although the history of its study dates back to the 19th c. (e.g., works by B. Kopitar and F. Miklosich), it is only relatively recently that scholars have attempted to distinguish the Slavic elements in Rumanian according to specific language sources, differentiating the East and North Slavic influences from the South Slavic (H. Brüske, M. Ştefănescu, M. V. Sergievskij, S. V. Semčyns'kyj, V. Vaščenko [Vascenco], D. H. Mazilu and others).

To date, Ukrainian lexical borrowings and phonetic and grammatical influences are best studied as to their periodization,[7] phonetic adaptation and grammatical adjustment in the recipient Rumanian language.[8] Less well studied is their thematic classification (especially as compared with other Slavic influences), and still less, their functional status (the degree of semantic autonomy, relation to words of a different origin, etc.) within the system of standard Rumanian and its dialects.[9]

The problem that has received the least attention is the diffusion of words of Ukrainian origin on Rumanian territory. Their study by a linguo-geographic method has as yet been sporadic (in works by S. Puşcariu, E. Petrovici and others). It is a generally accepted view in Rumanian linguistic scholarship that Ukrainian elements occur only in northern and eastern Rumania, i.e., where there exists a toponymy with Old Ukrainian linguistic features (pleophony, a fricative *h* instead of the explosive *g*, etc.).[10] The general correctness of this view is confirmed in part 1 of the *Studii* by Mihăilă,[11] which provides criteria for the periodization and determination of various old and new Slavic influences on Rumanian. The phonetic criterion is considered most important, followed by the derivative (formative), semantic, onomasiological, geographical and cultural-historical ones

[7] See Vascenco, "Elementele slave răsăritene."
[8] See V. Vaščenko, "O fonomorfologičeskoj adaptacii slavjanskix zaimstvovanij (Na materiale rumynskix èlementov vostočnoslavjanskogo proisxoždenija)," *Rs* 9 (1963): 43-63.
[9] Cf. G. Mihăilă's work on South Slavic (Old Bulgarian) loanwords, *Împrumuturi vechi sud-slave în limba română. Studiu lexico-semantic* (Bucharest, 1960).
[10] See fn. 6. Cf. also Iorgu Iordan, "Sprachgeographisches aus dem Gebiete der rumänischen Toponomastik," in *Contributions onomastiques* (Bucharest, 1958), pp. 7-32, especially 15 ff.
[11] *Criteriile periodizării şi geografia împrumuturilor slave în limba română*, p. 9 ff.

(pp. 9-12). The author correctly believes that these criteria make it possible to distinguish South Slavic words as the earliest ones to penetrate the Rumanian language between the 9th and 12th c.—i.e., during the period of the assimilation of "Dacian Slavs" by the proto-Rumanian population—and to spread throughout Daco-Rumanian linguistic territory. More recent borrowings are from: (a) Middle and Modern Bulgarian after the 12th c., primarily in southern Rumania; (b) Ukrainian in northeastern Rumania, also after the 12th c.; (c) and Serbian, after the 15th c., mostly in Banat, with some reaching as far as southern Oltenia and Crişana, and southwestern Transylvania. Here, as in the work noted above (see fn. 9), the author relies heavily on data from the Rumanian linguistic atlas (old and new series)[12] in his establishment of isoglosses for almost twenty lexemes of Ukrainian origin (*boroánă* and *boroní* 'harrow', *buhái* 'bull', *coromíslă* 'bucket yoke', *córi* 'measles', *ciubóte* 'boots', *bórtă* 'hollow', *harbúz* 'pumpkin', *hreápcă* 'rake attached to a scythe', *hulúb* 'dove', *léică* 'funnel', *máncă* 'nurse', *scrípcă* 'fiddle', *spóncă* 'clasp', *sumán* 'villager's long coat', *şpóri* 'spurs', etc., pp. 40 ff.). The author separates two layers of Ukrainian borrowings: an older layer, dating from the 12th c., which spread throughout Bukovyna, Moldavia (sometimes to its southernmost border and further, to northeastern Muntenia), Maramureş (Maramoroščyna) and northeastern Transylvania; and a younger layer, limited to Bukovyna, northern Moldavia and Maramureş, or the areas where Ukrainian villagers still live.[13]

In general Mihăilă correctly delimits the areas where Ukrainian loanwords are used (similar although less precise geographical data can be found in earlier works by H. Brüske, M. Ştefănescu, M. V. Sergievskij, S. V. Semčyns'kyj and V. Vaščenko.) It is also important to note that, after the works by S. Puşcariu and E. Petrovici, Mihăilă's publication contains the largest number of interpreted maps with terms of Ukrainian origin. The areas in question correspond to the territory having Rumanian toponomy of Old Ukrainian origin, i.e.,

[12] *Atlasul lingvistic român: Partea I*, vol. 1 (Cluj, 1938), vol. 2 (Sibiu-Leipzig, 1942); *Micul atlas lingvistic român: Partea I*, vol. 1 (Cluj, 1938), vol. 2 (Sibiu-Leipzig, 1942); *Atlasul lingvistic român: Partea II*, vol. 1 (Sibiu-Leipzig, 1940); *Micul atlas lingvistic român: Partea II*, vol. 1 (Sibiu-Leipzig, 1940); *Atlasul lingvistic român. Serie nouă*, vols. 1-7 (Bucharest, 1956-71); *Micul atlas lingvistic român. Serie nouă*, vols. 1-3 (Bucharest, 1956-67).

[13] See E. Vrabie, "Privire asupra localităţilor cu graiuri slave din Republica Populară Română," *Rs* 7 (1963): 75-85.

to the area which witnessed ethnic contact (symbiosis) between Old Ukrainian speakers and the Rumanians who assimilated them sometime in the 13th or 14th c. In general, this situation is in keeping with the principle that the area of toponymy originating in a certain language overlaps completely with the area of appellatives borrowed from that language,[14] although such appellatives sometimes become widespread or even common in the territory of the recipient language due to population migrations or the process of linguistic radiation.[15]

However, the work under discussion does not seek to study all Ukrainian elements of a linguo-geographic nature. Mihăilă refers only to the first two volumes of the seven-volume new atlas series and a small amount of material in the old series. The characteristic isoglosses of Ukrainian loanwords which he provides are only samples illustrating the delimitation from other Slavic borrowings.

Thus, systematic, complete investigation of Ukrainian loanwords in Rumanian linguistics based on atlases and other sources does not exist. My doctoral dissertation "A Comparison of Ukrainian Elements in Daco-Rumanian with Other Slavic Influences on the Basis of Rumanian Linguistic Atlases" seeks to fill this gap. A monographic study of Ukrainian lexical and semantic borrowings and phonetic and grammatical influences based primarily on the linguo-geographic method, it considers all the material (including the non-cartographic) of the national atlases as well as of the recent regional ones for Maramureş[16] and Oltenia.[17] The latter, in particular, provide rich material for the study of the linguistic interaction between Ukrainian and Rumanian dialects at various levels. I have supplemented the data of the atlases by drawing upon historical and dialectological sources. This has allowed a more precise delimitation of the area where Ukrainianisms occur as well as of those where the Ukrainian influence and its radiation are most intensive. The data have proved that Ukrainianisms cover much larger parts of the Daco-Rumanian linguistic territory than researchers have previously indicated. I have established cases of territorial interaction between lexemes of Ukrainian and other Slavic origin, as well as some territorial and semantic

14 Iordan, "Sprachgeographisches."

15 Cf. E. Petrovici, "Izoglossy slavjanskix èlementov v rumynskom jazyke (V svjazi s problematikoj obščeslavjanskogo lingvističeskogo atlasa)," *Slavia* 31, no. 1 (1962): 34-41. (Rumanian version in *Rs* 7 [1963]: 11-22.)

16 *Atlasul lingvistic român pe regiuni. Maramureş*, vols. 1-3 (Bucharest, 1969-73).

17 *Noul atlas lingvistic român pe regiuni. Oltenia*, vols. 1-3 (Bucharest, 1967-74).

correspondences between both groups. My study also shows how the area of Ukrainianisms limits the expansion of other Slavic borrowings.

In studying the interrelations between the Rumanian and Ukrainian languages, a reliable and correct etymologization of borrowings is of primary importance. In connection with the ambitious project for compiling a general dictionary, or thesaurus, of the Rumanian language,[18] etymological study has become much more widespread in Rumania, especially since 1965. A great deal has been done in etymologizing Slavic, including Ukrainian, borrowings by Rumanian and its dialects. Much of this work was done in 1973.

Academician Iorgu Iordan continues to publish his valuable series begun in 1934, "Notes on Rumanian Lexicology."[19] Rarely etymological in content, the series is usually supplementary (as to sources, attestation in time, semantics, variants and geography of words) to the aforementioned new academic dictionary and its predecessor. It also includes a number of Ukrainianisms (*prepeleac* 'pole-ladder', *priboi* 'geranium', *prilipcă* 'cart-house attached to a house', *promoroacă* 'white frost', *rihtui* 'to cut and sew leather', *rohatcă* 'village boundary', *rusalcă* 'undine', etc.).

The collection of studies by Mihăilă noted above reprints several of his etymological articles. These investigate the Ukrainian etymologies of some Rumanian dialectal words (*potróc*, *potroácă* < *potrox*, *potrux* 'bowels', p. 87; *nitvéghi* < *medvíd'* 'bear', pp. 92-93; *nótótă* < *nytóta* 'Lycopodium annotinum', p. 102; *pátic*, *-ă* < *patýk* 'a stick', pp. 106-107; *a pădăí*, *a pădăiá* < *podajé* 'to serve', p. 108). One should also note that a number of other articles establish Ukrainian etymologies for some Rumanian words or contain corrections, supplements, or refutations of previously suggested etymologies. In their etymological and lexical notes, Andrei Avram,[20] Ioan Bettisch,[21] Ioan Mării,[22] M. Mladenov,[23] V. Nestorescu,[24] and I. Moise and

[18] *Dicţionarul limbii române*, n.s., vols. 6-8 (Bucharest, 1965-72). (Continuation of the prewar academic *Dicţionarul limbii române*, which was interrupted at *lójniţă*.)
[19] "Note de lexicologie românească," *SCL* 24, no. 1 (1973): 41-52; and *SCL* 24, no. 6 (1973): 713-722.
[20] "Note etimologice," *Limba română* (hereafter *LR*) 22, no. 1 (1973): 19-24; and *LR* 22, no. 3 (1973): 191-197.
[21] "Note etimologice," *Cercetări de limbă şi literatură* 6 (Oradea, 1973): 125-128.
[22] "Note etimologice şi lexicale," *LR* 22, no. 4 (1973): 325-328.
[23] *LR* 22, no. 2 (1973): 121-128.
[24] *LR* 22, no. 2 (1973): 128-132.

A. Vraciu[25] treat primarily South Slavic words in Rumanian and deal only marginally with some Ukrainianisms. I. Robčuk [Robciuc],[26] S. Semčyns'kyj,[27] E. Vrabie[28] and this author[29] have published articles specifically on the etymologization of loanwords from Ukrainian. The third of my articles (fn. 29) is an initial study in a series on lexical borrowings from Ukrainian in Rumanian dialects and the phonetic influence of Ukrainian on Rumanian dialects. The series was begun in the conviction that Ukrainian is one of the most important foreign influences on Daco-Rumanian, affecting its vocabulary and semantics, as well as the phonetics[30] and grammar[31] of northern and north-eastern Rumanian dialects.

Researchers agree on the great difficulty, sometimes impossibility, of clearly delimiting the Slavic influences on Daco-Rumanian.[32] This is especially true of Ukrainian, Polish and Russian borrowings, as substantiated by interpretations in some of the articles mentioned. While the possibility of a dual or triple etymology for many loan-words should not be rejected, it must be noted that the development of criteria for a more accurate delimitation is possible. The lack of such criteria has led to both an over- and underestimation of these three influences. This has also had a negative effect on the statistical analysis of Rumanian vocabulary and its etymological composition.

In 1973 a valuable work by C. Dimitriu was published on the Romance character of the vocabulary of the earliest Rumanian records, which date from the 16th c.[33] The author critically discusses all previous statistics used in determining the "etymological physiognomy" of the Rumanian lexical stock, thereby disclosing a percentage of Ukrainianisms. His findings are a startling indication of the shortcomings of dictionaries in determining etymological groups

[25] "Note etimologice," *LR* 22, no. 5 (1973): 491-498.

[26] *LR* 22, no. 4 (1973): 334-335; and *LR* 22, no. 5 (1973): 503-506.

[27] *LR* 22, no. 2 (1973): 119-121.

[28] *Revue roumaine de linguistique* 18, no. 5 (1973): 517-519.

[29] *Analele ştiinţifice ale Universităţii "Al. I. Cuza" din Iaşi* 19 (1973): 125-127; *SCL* 24, no. 1 (1973): 77-83; *SCL* 24, no. 4 (1973): 455-460; *LR* 22, no. 5 (1973): 498-503.

[30] See I. Pătruţ's "Raporturi fonetice ucraino-române," *Dacoromania* 11 (Cluj, 1948): 51-59; and "Influences slaves et magyares sur les parlers roumains," *Rs* 1 (1958): 31-43.

[31] Although in the south the *-o* vocative (*mamo*! etc.) is of Old Bulgarian origin, I believe that in the north this form and the apocopic vocative for terms of relationship are influenced by Ukrainian. This matter is discussed in my dissertation.

[32] See, e.g., Mihăilă, *Studii*, pp. 10ff.

[33] *Romanitatea vocabularului unor texte vechi româneşti. Studiu statistic* (Iaşi, 1973).

and the still great number of groups singled out merely on the basis of likely provenance. Perhaps it is due to such deficiencies in Rumanian etymological dictionaries that even contemporary researchers often group together all words of Slavic origin (regardless of their varying chronology, "specific weight," territorial range and vitality) and compare them statistically with other etymological groups —i.e., inherited Latin and Latin-Romance (loan neologisms), Greek, Hungarian, Oriental (Tatar and Turkish), etc. For instance, F. Dimitrescu did so in establishing a list of "basic vocabulary" for the most important texts of the 16th c. in her comprehensive work on the history of Old Rumanian.[34] Her list of ca. 5,000 words contained some Ukrainianisms, and she established a territorial repartition of the contemporary Rumanian vocabulary (p. 48 ff.). The author also noted some Ukrainianisms as characteristic only of Moldavia and Bukovyna (*buhái*, *ciobote* 'boots', erroneously derived from Russ. *čobot*, *prisacă* 'bee-garden' connected perhaps with Ukr. *pasika* = id., etc., p. 59).

Ukrainian and Rumanian linguists must become familiar with each other's scholarly etymology if they are to reduce the number of words in Rumanian that are considered of Ukrainian origin while being held as Rumanianisms in Ukrainian. Of some dozen examples of such misattribution I will cite only one. As had S. Hrabec, J.B. Rudnyc'kyj, in his *Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language*,[35] derives the Carpathian Ukr. *bútyn* 'large trunk (of a tree), wood (forest) to be cut down; pestle' from Rum. *buştean* 'large trunk of a tree'. Yet these do not seem to be cognate words. Rum. *buşteán* is explained by some scholars as a derivative from German *Baumstamm*, which in the dialects of the Transylvanian Saxons sounds like *bumštam*.[36] An attempt could be made to trace the Ukrainian word to the north Rumanian (Maramureş) *bútin* but this, too, would be futile, for Rumanian scholars agree that the Rumanian word, with its narrow local range, cannot be other than a loanword from Carpathian Ukr. (Hutsul) *bútýn*.

The complicated problem of the Rumanian influence on Ukrainian (and other idioms) has interested Rumanian and Ukrainian linguists, as well as historians and ethnographers, for many years. Rumanian

[34] *Contribuţii la istoria limbii române vechi* (Bucharest, 1973), pp. 121-245.
[35] Pt. 3 (Winnipeg, 1964), p. 273.
[36] See S. Puşcariu in *Dacoromania* 3 (1923): 657-658.

slavists have produced two recent syntheses on the problem—one on Rumanian elements in Ukrainian which is probably the most fundamental study of the topic,[37] and one on all Slavic languages.[38] A critical review by Professor Emil Vrabie of Bucharest University should also be noted,[39] since it contains corrections, supplements, and refutations to Rumanian etymologies in Rudnyc'kyj's dictionary. In 1973 I. Robčuk published an article singling out Rumanianisms in *Materialy do slovnyka bukovyns'kyx hovirok* (Černivci, 1971).[40]

2. On the second cycle of problems defined above there is a detailed comprehensive study published by D. Horvath;[41] it serves as a supplement to previous studies.[42] Now isolated from their native heartland and developing more and more divergently, Ukrainian dialects in Rumania provide much valuable data for the theory of linguistic contact. These dialects are the Hutsul and Pokuttian-Bukovynian in the Sučava (Suceava) region, the Hutsul and Transcarpathian in Maramureş, the Transcarpathian in Banat, and the Steppe dialects in Dobrogea (Dobrudža). The Maramureş dialects are probably the oldest ones, followed by those of Sučava. The most recent ones—the Banat and Dobrogea, dating from the 18th c.—are unfortunately still not described in full detail. (This author is preparing a complete dictionary of Hutsul dialects from seven villages in the upper reaches of the Moldovycja (Moldoviţa) River and the Sučava area, where Hutsuls settled in the mid-18th c.). A linguistic atlas of all Ukrainian dialects in Rumania is desirable and has been proposed.[43]

3. In referring to the third group of problems, I will return to Mihăilă's *Studii*, where the question of compiling a general dictionary of Slavic languages in Rumania was raised (p. 136 ff.) and a complete list of sources was given (p. 148 ff.). Especially noteworthy are the

[37] "Influenţa limbii române asupra limbii ucrainene," *Rs* 14 (1967): 109-198.

[38] S. Niţă-Armaş et al., "L'influence roumaine sur le lexique des langues slaves," *Rs* 16 (1968): 59-121.

[39] "Elemente lexicale româneşti în ucraineană (Pe baza dicţionarului etimologic al limbii ucrainene de J. B. Rudnyc'kyj)," *Analele Universităţii Bucureşti / Limbi slave* 21 (1972): 153-160.

[40] "Cuvinte de origine românească într-un dicţionar dialectal ucrainean," *SCL* 24, no. 1 (1973): 69-75.

[41] "Comentarii asupra graiurilor ucrainene din R. S. România," in *Studii şi articole*, vol. 2 (Baia Mare, 1973), pp. 21-36.

[42] N. Pavliuc, *Curs de gramatică istorică a limbii ucrainene* (Bucharest, 1964), pp. 51-53; Vrabie, "Privire," pp. 55-74, 76-77.

[43] M. Pavljuk and I. Robčuk, "Regional'nyj atlas ukrajins'kyx hovirok Rumuniji," in *Praci XII respublikans'koji dialektolohičnoji narady* (Kiev, 1971), pp. 24-36.

author's new explanations of the differentiation between folk and bookish (cultural) loanwords (pp. 13-14). He proposes to call the latter *Slavonisms* (*slavonisme, împrumuturi slavone*), or words that have only partially penetrated the Rumanian folk language. These he divides into four categories: (1) Middle Bulgarian Slavonisms, borrowed during the epoch of "cultural Slavism" (14th-15th c.) and with the first translations into Rumanian (16th-17th c.), supplemented by some Serbian Slavonisms that penetrated the language of records in Muntenia and Transylvania (beginning in the 15th c.) and Ruthenian-Ukrainian Slavonisms (after the 16th c.), particularly in Moldavia; (2) Polish bookish elements (the late 14th-early 18th c.); (3) Russian elements, beginning in the 18th c. and intensifying in the first decades of the 19th c. and in contemporary times (p. 26). The author says that the Rumanian Slavonic language, based on the Church Slavonic tradition, has a principally Middle Bulgarian character but with influences of the Serbian recension from Wallachia and Transylvania and Ukrainian recension from Moldavia (in the 17th c., also in Wallachia).[44] The original Rumanian texts (chronicles, charters, inscriptions, records, etc.) also manifest a Rumanian folk substratum (p. 118).

Mihăilă's outline of criteria for the determination of Slavisms is valuable (pp. 124-25), as is the quite lengthy list of Slavisms established by the author (pp. 127-35). The latter contains mostly religious, socio-political and cultural terminology from the feudal era in Rumania, much of which was later lost or replaced. The author admits that some of these terms have a Ruthenian-Ukrainian phonetic "attire" (p. 126): e.g., *mucenic* (along with *măcinic*) 'martyr', *sobor* (// *săbor*) 'cathedral', *psalom* (// *psalm*) 'psalm', *jertfelnic* (// *jîrtăvnic*) 'credence altar', *ispisoc* 'charter', etc. (p. 135). Further distinctions between the various recensions of Church Slavonic are somewhat difficult to ascertain.

4. The fourth area of problems has been treated in a work on the parallel process of Ukrainian and Rumanian folk anthroponymical denomination and Iorgu Iordan's highly laudatory review of André de Vincenz's *Traité d'Anthroponymie houtzoule* (Munich, 1970).[45] Yet it must be noted that the rich and diverse anthroponymy of Ukrainian

[44] Cf., however, Bogdan, "Über die Sprache." Also see Petrovici, "Geografičeskoe raspredelenie," p. 12: "the offices of Rumanian voivodes used, as a language of administration and diplomatic relations, Middle Bulgarian in Wallachia and Old Ukrainian in Moldavia."

[45] *SCL* 24, no. 2 (1973): 223.

origin in northern Rumania remains for the most part uncollected, unsystematized and unstudied. In much the same state is the microtoponymy of former (now assimilated) and present Ukrainian settlements there. The Rumanian heartland's toponymy of Ukrainian origin is also in need of further treatment, particularly chronologization, although it is unlikely that future studies will change the conclusions made by the late E. Petrovici.

5. Comparative analysis of Ukrainian and Rumanian as Indo-European languages is nearly non-existent. Yet the establishment of possible forms of interference between Ukrainian and Rumanian by W. Weinreich's proposed method of differential description is of potential value; this author plans such a work.

Several other studies published in Rumania contain factual, but non-interpretative material on Ukrainian language problems, but limitations of time and space prevent their discussion here.

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THE NEW ACADEMY DICTIONARY OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE

BOHDAN STRUMINS'KYJ

SLOVNYK UKRAJINS'KOJI MOVY. Edited by *Ivan K. Bilodid* et al. Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1970-. Vol. 1: 799 pp., 2.87 roubles. Vol. 2: 550 pp., 2.13 roubles. Vol. 3: 744 pp., 3.22 roubles. Vol. 4: 840 pp., 4.97 roubles. Vol. 5: 840 pp., 4.68 roubles. Vol. 6: 832 pp., 4.89 roubles.

The uniqueness of the new dictionary of the Ukrainian language now being published in Kiev lies in that it is the first such reference work to give all explanations in Ukrainian, rather than in German or Russian, as did its major predecessors: E. Želexivs'kyj and S. Nedil's'kyj, *Ruthenisch-deutsches Wörterbuch* (L'viv, 1886); B. Hrinčenko, *Slovar' ukrainskogo jazyka* (Kiev, 1907-1909); and I. Kyryčenko, *Ukrainsko-russkij slovar'* (Kiev, 1953-1963). With its publication the Ukrainian language has finally achieved the stage of "self-sufficiency" in lexicography attained by other civilized languages centuries ago (by English, e.g., in 1604): the stage of speaking by itself about itself. In the histories of other languages, the appearance of such monolingual dictionaries marked the end of periods of bilingualism during which a foreign language (e.g., Latin in England) was dominant. For Ukrainian the situation is different, but this new type of dictionary still bespeaks a coming of age.

Although Ivan Bilodid is only editorial committee chairman rather than author of the new dictionary, his name may well cling to it, as Webster's and Larousse's have in English and French lexicography, respectively. This is all the more likely because Bilodid is officially *the* linguistic authority in the Ukrainian SSR.[1] I follow this person-

[1] Therefore a popular saying in Kiev goes: "Hovoryla baba didu: Ja pojidu k Bilodidu / i dovidajus' sama,—je v nas mova, čy nema? [An old woman told her old man, 'I will go to Bilodid, to learn for myself, have we got a language, or not?]"

ifying trend by referring to the other dictionaries cited here by their editors-in-chief.

In the opinion of L. Palamarčuk, member of the editorial staff, the dictionary will contain a total of 120,000 to 130,000 entries when completed.[2] This estimate may prove rather low because the first six volumes contain 83,931 entries, or an average of 13,988 per volume, which would project about 153,900 entries for eleven volumes (Palamarčuk envisages that the ten volumes originally planned will be increased by one).[3]

The number of entries has been artificially swollen, however, by the inclusion of what other Slavic dictionaries treat as grammatical forms rather than separate lexical units. These are the serial, easily formed, deverbative nouns (gerunds) and passive participles (e.g., *zapovnennja, zapovnjuvannja* 'the filling', *zapovnenyj* 'filled').[4] The compilers have even outdone Černyšev-Barxudarov-Filin (the Russian dictionary in seventeen volumes) and Doroszewski (the Polish in eleven) who have separate entries for *zapolnenie, zapełnienie, zapełnianie*, although not for *zapolnennyj* and *zapełniony*. By contrast, Havránek (in the four-volume Czech dictionary) and Peciar (in the five-volume Slovak) rightly ignore both categories (in Peciar's dictionary *zaplnené* occurs only in quotations s.v. *zaplnit'*), with the only exceptions being participles and gerunds that are felt as adjectives and ordinary nouns.

Since the compilers of the Bilodid dictionary are so fond of gerunds, singling them out in both perfective and imperfective aspects, they might at least be expected to use the two variants correctly. Unfortunately, this is not the case. For instance, s.v. *zemlečerpalka* 'dredge' we find the following definition: "Sudno texničnoho flotu, pryznač. dlja *rozroblennja* i *vyjmannja* z-pid vody zemli čerpakamy." Bilodid's barge is strange indeed: it is intended to process mud and sand only once (perfective *rozroblennja*) but to scoop it out many times (imperfective *vyjmannja*). The irrepressible thought occurs that the author of the definition wrote in Ukrainian but thought in Russian, which has no aspect distinction in gerunds. My review of volume 1

[2] L. S. Palamarčuk, *Tlumačnyj slovnyk ukrajins'koji movy v koli slov''jans'kyx slovnykiv c'oho typu: VII Mižnarodnyj z''jizd slavistiv* (Kiev, 1973), p. 5.

[3] Palamarčuk, *Tlumačnyj slovnyk*, p. 19.

[4] Their inclusion was viewed as "deserving complete approval" by the reviewer M. A. Žovtobrjux in *Visnyk Akademiji nauk Ukrajins'koji RSR*, 1971, no. 4, p. 104.

sought to convince the Bilodid staff that in Ukrainian such a distinction is important,[5] but apparently to no avail.

Fortunately, reviews are not always ineffectual. The reviewers of volume 1 may congratulate themselves that at least some of their suggestions about the addition of literary authorities have been heeded (P. Kuliš and M. Kuliš, Draj-Xmara and Drač are included in the supplementary list of authors in volume 4).[6]

The list of literary sources remains one-sided, however. In their preface the Kiev lexicographers assure us that they have drawn upon vocabulary from "all genres of belles-lettres since the end of the eighteenth century; folklore; journalistic, socioeconomic, popular scientific and scientific works." The lists of sources reveal that most of the 149 belletrists quoted are Soviet writers and that only 46 (including four reputed to be Communists or the like) wrote primarily prior to the establishment of the Ukrainian SSR or beyond its boundaries. The list of folkloric sources mentions neither the collections of Polish folklorists nor those of V. Hnatjuk. Only current issues of Soviet newspapers and journals are listed. Thus the tremendous role of *Zorja halyc'ka*, *Osnova*, *Meta*, *Pravda*, *Dilo*, *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Ševčenka*, *Literaturno-naukovyj visnyk*, *Ukrajina*, *Rada*, *Červonyj šljax*, etc., in forming a non-*moujik* Ukrainian has been totally ignored. Political works are limited to the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and publications concerning the Soviet political structure. The list of scientific and scholarly literature includes no philosophical works. Some of the books referred to should, perhaps, have been translated from their Russian-Ukrainian *Volapük* into Ukrainian before being drawn upon as illustrations (*žylyj budynok* = *žytlovyj* ..., *učbovyx* = navčal'nyx, metody *pidviščennja* = ... *pidvyščuvaty* or ... *pidvyščuvannja*, *blokirovka* = *blokuvannja*, *uroky dida* = *nauky* ..., etc.). Translated belles-lettres include seventeen works by Russian authors and five by non-Russians. The reader will not find any illustrations from Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Virgil, Horace, Petrarch, Dante, Cervantes, Shakespeare, Byron, Dickens, Joyce, Hemingway,

[5] *Slavia Orientalis* 21 (1972, no. 3): 352.

[6] Cf. my suggestions in *Slavia Orientalis* 21 (1972, no. 3): 351; and M. Pylyns'kyj's in *Literaturna Ukrajina* 27 (July 1971). Only a small volume of selected works by P. Kuliš (Kiev, 1969) has been added to the list of literature, although all Kuliš's works have been drawn upon for the dictionary's files (V. P. Gradova, S. F. Levčenko, "Slovar' sovremennogo ukrainskogo jazyka: Kartoteka," in *Vostočnoslavjanskie jazyki: Istočniki dlja ix izučenija* [Moscow, 1973], p. 30).

Molière, Stendhal, Balzac, Hugo, Flaubert, Verne, France, Zola, Schiller, Heine, Mann, Ibsen, Čapek, etc. Only ten of the books quoted were published in the Ukrainian territories before 1920, and only six in the Ukrainian SSR before 1934.

Does the impressive size of the Bilodid dictionary prove that in the Soviet Union Ukrainian is a "highly developed" language, as Palamarčuk assures us?[7] Even if the artificial entries are set aside, the reply cannot be wholly affirmative. It is true that Ukrainian can form fifteen diminutives for the word *child.* However, no equivalents can be found for such internationally known and translated English expressions as *in the foreseeable future*[8] and *wishful thinking* (although the entries *majbutnje*, *dumannja*, and *myslennja* and those between *bažanyj* and *bažajučyj* could provide a base for such equivalents in Soviet Ukrainian usage).[9] As for the French *point de vue* (translated into the major European languages), Ukrainians are not yet agreed on how to convey it: Bilodid unhesitatingly gives *točka zoru* (from Russian *točka zrenija*) but this was refuted as incorrect by Antonenko-Davydovyč.[10] The word *kompleks* is not cited by Bilodid in its internationally known psychological connotation, which may make one wonder where the Soviet Ukrainians have been during the decades of psychology's development.[11]

Thus, from Bilodid's dictionary one might conclude that Ukrainian is redundantly rich in affectional words of minor importance and poor (or at least uncertain) in modern means for intellectual communication—a state typical of a rural or provincial language.[12] The

[7] Palamarčuk, *Tlumačnyj slovnyk*, p. 5.

[8] I recall that an author writing in *Sučasnist'* (Munich) once translated this phrase as *u prohljadnomu majbutn'omu.* This useful new meaning of *prohljadnyj* (previously used only as "transparent, diaphanous") is slowly spreading in the diaspora, e.g., *u prohljadnomu časi* 'in the foreseeable time', V. I. Hryško, *Novi dni* (Toronto), no. 304 (August 1975), p. 28.

[9] I can claim a "copyright" to the first translation of this phrase, having risked the neologism *bažal'ne myslennja* in *Sučasnist'*, 1977, no. 3, p. 91.

[10] B. Antonenko-Davydovyč, *Jak my hovorymo* (Kiev, 1970), p. 225. Documents of the Hetmanate (1918) used *točka pohljadu* (D. Dorošenko, *Istorija Ukrajiny, 1917-1923 rr.*, vol. 2 [Uzhorod, 1930], pp. 70, 271).

[11] But in justice to the Ukrainian language in the Ukrainian SSR, one should note that this connotation is known to the underground poet I. Kalynec': "hostjat'sja proskurkoju *kompleksu* odnoho harjačoho poeta [they help themselves to the consecrated Host of the complex of a fervent poet]" (*Pidsumovujučy movčannja* [Munich, 1971], p. 38). Thus, fortunately, Bilodid does not represent the language of all citizens of the republic.

[12] Perhaps one reason for the underdevelopment of Ukrainian literature is that "the

remark by S. Vasyl'čenko (d. 1932) that "a Ukrainian writer has to pull two ploughs at once: to write a work of art and to create a language for it"[13] is still partly true today, although it is now more applicable to the authors of scholarly and scientific works. Therefore a statement such as Palamarčuk's on the normative character of the Bilodid dictionary seems premature.[14] Ukrainian dictionaries are collections of materials for a future standard vocabulary rather than codifications, because only a language with high social prestige and universal application can be well codified. For Ukrainian in the Soviet Union this is still little more than *Zukunftsmusik*. Even when they exist, codifications are often unacceptable to educated Ukrainians. For instance, on a visit to Kiev in 1962, I was told by a linguist that the ubiquitous sign *Ovoči i frukty* 'Vegetables and Fruits' is not true Ukrainian—it should be *Horodyna i ovoči* (or *sadovyna*); this "it's not true Ukrainian" remark I heard repeatedly from others commenting on Soviet Ukrainian usage. Also, any Ukrainian living in the West knows that *Quot Rutheni, tot linguae Ruthenicae*. Given all this, to what degree can one justifiably maintain that the Ukrainian language has a normative character?[15]

Predictably, Bilodid omits terms commonly used in the Ukrainian diaspora, including Poland. These are from many fields, such as politics (e.g., *zajmanščyna* '[foreign] occupation', *mazepynec'* 'Ukrainian irredentist'—a word also known in pre-revolutionary Russia, *banderivec'* 'follower of Bandera', *deržavnyk* 'one who thinks in terms of an independent state', *narodovbyvstvo* 'genocide', *vidpružennja* 'détente'); administration and organization (e.g., *vykazka* 'certificate', *zdvyh* 'rally', *plast* 'youth scouting organization'); the military (e.g., *vijs'kovyk* 'military man', *vporjad* 'military exercise', *mazepynka* 'a

languages in which nothing has been recorded but folklore would bring down even a genius" (C. Miłosz, *Prywatne obowiązki* [Paris, 1972], p. 13).

13 S. Vasyl'čenko, *Povisti ta opovidannja* (Kiev, 1949), p. 47.

14 Palamarčuk, *Tlumačnyj slovnyk*, p. 5.

15 Cf. an opinion about the insufficient standardization of Ukrainian by J. Tarnavs'kyj, "Literatura i mova," *Sučasnist'*, 1972, no. 3, pp. 46-51. This opinion is contested by Bilodid (turned Beloded): "The flourishing of languages of the nationalities in the Soviet Union completely refutes the allegations by capitalist propaganda ... about a 'non-standard' character of languages of some nationalities, for example, Ukrainian, because the 'language' of bourgeois nationalistic elements from some foreign countries is not taken into account in the codification of these languages" (I. K. Beloded, "Funkcionirovanie jazykov narodov SSSR v uslovijax rascveta socialističeskix nacij," *Voprosy jazykoznanija*, 1975, no. 4, p. 3).

military cap modeled on Hetman Mazepa's', *zapillja* 'rear'); science (e.g., *pryrodne dovkillja* 'natural environment');[16] sports (e.g., *leščeta* 'skis', *hakivka* 'hockey', *vidbyvanka* 'volley-ball', *zmahun* 'competitor in sports'); services and trade (e.g., *kavarnja* 'café', *kredytivka* 'credit bank', *mešty* 'shoes'); etc.[17]

The compilers of the dictionary so dislike this kind of terminology that even if they cite it, they do so stealthily. For example, *litun* is defined as "the one who flies, has the capability of flying"; the specialized meaning "airman" is not given and can only be found in the entry's illustrations from Vasyl'čenko and Smolyč. The omission is due to the fact that *litun* 'airman' is part of Ukrainian military terminology, displaced by the Russian in the Ukrainian SSR: in this case, by *l'otčyk*, which the compilers include in parentheses in the illustration from Vasyl'čenko. Similarly, they define *lanka* very generally as "the smallest organizational unit in any association," but hide the military meaning "troop" in illustrations from Janovs'kyj and Mykytenko. Also, s.v. *livoruč* 'to the left', they do not indicate the word's military meaning, "turn left!," although it occurs in the mentioned illustration from Janovs'kyj, s.v. *lanka.*[18]

Yet it must be admitted that the dictionary is more tolerant toward some non-orthodox vocabulary than previous linguistic publications in the Soviet Ukraine. For example, the Kalynovyč dictionary of 1948 marked *vidsotok* 'percentage' as "obsolete," *zasnovok* 'premise' as "western" and totally omitted *žyttjepys* 'biography', whereas the new dictionary gives them all without any limiting qualifications. A work published in 1961, *Course in the History of Standard Ukrainian*, also edited by Bilodid, considered *vidsotok*[19] to be less "accurate"

[16] However, through Western broadcasts the latter term has begun to enter unofficial usage in the Ukrainian SSR, e.g., "zabrudnennja dovkillja" in the underground *Ukrajins'kyj visnyk: Vypusk 7-8, Vesna 1974* (Baltimore, 1975), p. 31.

[17] Incidentally, some recent Russian borrowings have also been overlooked, e.g., *zustrič na verxax* 'summit meeting', *bojeholivka* (or *bojeholovka*) 'warhead'. However, this reviewer certainly does not need to indicate such omissions to the compilers: there are enough Arguses for such things in Kiev and its environs.

[18] The participants in a linguistic discussion of the Bilodid dictionary held in Kiev on 22-23 January 1973, demanded that its word list be extended (*Movoznavstvo*, 1973, no. 4, p. 94) but it is unknown whether they had in mind the gaps mentioned in this review.

[19] The struggle for the rehabilitation of this Ukrainian Polonism was begun by O. Il'čenko in 1959 (V. Čaplenko, *Movna polityka bil'šovykiv na Ukrajini v 1950-60-yx rr.* [Chicago, 1974], p. 66). Judging by the Bilodid dictionary, it has been successful.

than *procent* and *žyttjepys* to be outmoded. The same work called *mosjaž* 'brass' a "distorted term" and *bižučyj* 'current' one of the "incorrect" words cleansed from the language after the early 1930s;[20] the new dictionary, however, contains the former with the mild qualifier "rare" and the latter without any limiting qualifications. In 1969, H. Jižakevyč claimed that the Russian *rul'* 'steering wheel' has supplanted the Ukrainian *kermo*, stating that the latter "has moved to the sphere of poetical functioning,"[21] but the word is given as normal in the Bilodid dictionary.

The dictionary gives preference to some phonetically inferior variants, e.g., the true Ukrainian *doxid* 'income' is termed obsolete, whereas the Russian *doxod* is considered normal (the Andrusyshen-Krett dictionary, the major one in use in the diaspora, has *doxid* only). *Doribok* 'achievement' is omitted completely; only *dorobok*, closer to the Polish *dorobek*, occurs (from which Andrusyshen-Krett refers the reader to the former).

The Bilodid dictionary is insensitive to such blatant errors as *zaraz* instead of *teper* 'now' and *dyvytysja ščos'* 'to watch'. Even the authority of Kocjubyns'kyj, Sosjura and Janovs'kyj cannot justify these Russianisms. The contra-indication of O. Kurylo against *zaraz* made in 1924 is still valid for those who value and know the Ukrainian language.[22]

Given the various biases of the Bilodid dictionary on sources as well as usage, its compilers would have been more honest to entitle it a "Dictionary of Current Official Soviet Ukrainian." Regardless of how useful their work might prove to be, a dictionary of the Ukrainian language *tout court* remains to be compiled.

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[20] *Kurs istoriji ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy*, vol. 2 (Kiev, 1961), pp. 215, 387, 203, 387.

[21] H. P. Jižakevyč, *Ukrajins'ko-rosijs'ki movni zv"jazky radjans'koho času* (Kiev, 1969), p. 297.

[22] *Uvahy do sučasnoji ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy* (Toronto, 1960), p. 125. This barbarism was also condemned by M. Levyc'kyj in *Literaturno-naukovyj visnyk*, 1909, no. 3, and in *Ukrajins'ka hramatyka dlja samonavčannja* (Romny, 1918), pp. 153-54; by E. Čykalenko in *Pro ukrajins'ku movu*, Biblioteka ukrajins'koho slova, pt. 7 (Berlin, 1922), p. 48; by I. Kyrijak in 1935 (as cited by O. Vojcenko in *Slovo na storoži* 10 [1973]: 48); and by Antonenko-Davydovyč in 1970 (*Jak my hovorymo*, pp. 213-14).

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE SKOVORODA JUBILEE

RICHARD HANTULA

POVNE ZIBRANNJA TVORIV U DVOX TOMAX. By *Hryhorij Skovoroda.* Edited by *V. I. Šynkaruk* et al. Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1973. Vol. 1: 532 pp. Vol. 2: 576 pp.

FILOSOFIJA HRYHORIJA SKOVORODY. Akademija nauk Ukrajins'koji RSR, Instytut filosofiji. Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1972. 312 pp.

HRYHORIJ SKOVORODA: BIOHRAFIJA. By *Leonid Maxnovec'.* Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1972. 256 pp.

SKOVORODA: DICHTER, DENKER, MYSTIKER. By *Dmitrij Tschižewskij.* Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies, vol. 18. Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1974. 234 pp.

These four publications are the most significant scholarly fruits of the Skovoroda jubilee officially celebrated in 1972.[1]

Prior to the anniversary the edition of Skovoroda's works published in 1961, *Tvory v dvox tomax*, was the most complete collection of the philosopher-poet's writings. However, the two-volume set was printed in a limited edition (6000 copies) and during the ensuing years scholars discovered several new manuscripts—copies and autographs of works already published, two dialogues, a letter, as well as documents and writings relating to Skovoroda's activity. The first publication under review here, *Povne zibrannja tvoriv*, issued in an edition of 45,000

[1] One should note the updating of the 1968 biobibliography in *Hryhorij Skovoroda: Biobibliohrafija*, 2nd ed. (Xarkiv, 1972), 204 pp. As before, however, very few references are made to works published outside the USSR; additions to the 1968 version are simply listed at the end of the work. Yet, within its limitations, this is a very useful work indeed.

copies and including all know writings by Skovoroda and some ancillary material, remedies both these problems of the earlier collection.[2]

The new edition attempts to arrange Skovoroda's works in chronological order—a provisional effort because not all dates can be established and the letters and some translations and poems are filed separately. It retains the miscellaneous categories of "rizne" and "dodatky" of the earlier collection. New material includes four documents pertaining to Skovoroda's teaching career (two of which are published for the first time), annotations on points of interest or obscurity in Skovoroda's writings, and a short glossary of antiquated words. The editors claim to have corrected all printing errors in the 1961 edition, particularly in non-Slavic texts; some, however, remain. Skovoroda's Latin and Greek texts are translated as in the previous edition, although here Mykola Zerov's poetic renderings accompany some Latin poems. Published for the first time are Skovoroda's own emblem drawings for "Alfavit, ili bukvar' mira."

The editors profess to have done their utmost to preserve the linguistic and stylistic features of the original texts. In fact, however, changes have been made which render the resulting texts unfit for certain philological analyses. For example, only some of the stresses marked by Skovoroda have been preserved, and punctuation, orthography, etc., have been modernized to a greater or lesser extent. Also, the listing of textual variants is somewhat less detailed here than that in the 1961 edition. A more serious retreat from the earlier collection is in the index of names, from which biblical and mythological entries have been dropped. Even more critical is the omission of an index of key words and a subject index: the latter is provided in a recent Russian translation of Skovoroda's works.[3]

The work's running—or, as Nabokov might have put it, stumbling—commentary to the texts is perhaps somewhat better for the philosophical works than for the poetic. The textual notes, based on those of the 1961 edition, do not always take into account the new discoveries presented elsewhere in the same work. The annotations are uneven and occasionally erroneous—e.g., Skovoroda is said never to have used *e* for *ѣ* in his manuscripts, Abraham is purported to

[2] Discoveries may still be forthcoming, of course. A recent example is in O. D. Kuškina and I. F. Martynov, "Nevidoma rukopysna zbirka XVIII st.," *Radjans'ke literaturoznavstvo* (hereafter *RL*), 1975, no. 2, pp. 73-81.

[3] Hryhorij Skovoroda, *Sočinenija v dvux tomax*, trans. I. V. Ivan'o, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1973).

have seen the burning bush, and a number of dates are given incorrectly. Also, some annotations are not to the point or give a dubious interpretation of Skovoroda's meaning.

It is certainly reasonable for scholars to differ on matters of interpretation, but some of the editors' statements about Skovoroda's anti-religious tendencies and social involvement are indefensibly adamant. This is true of both the annotations and the introductory survey of Skovoroda's life and works, although the latter is more comprehensive (except on the question of Skovoroda's language) and perceptive than the introduction to the 1961 edition. In minimizing Skovoroda's mysticism, authors V. I. Šynkaruk and I. V. Ivan'o (whose views will be discussed below in connection with the study on Skovoroda's philosophy) not only give an imbalanced account of his life and thought, but fail to understand his verse, especially the *Garden of Divine Songs*, a surprisingly well-ordered collection of spiritual poetry.[4]

The second of these publications, *Filosofija Hryhorija Skovorody*, pays particular attention to Skovoroda's development, cultural and social milieu, and the focus of his philosophy—that is, his ethics or "ethico-humanist" conception. It takes pains to explain where Skovoroda's views are positive contributions to human thought and where they are contradictory or historically limited, as well as to show what relevance they have for the Soviet citizen of today.

The work's brief introduction is by V.I. Šynkaruk. More important are the contributions of I.V. Ivan'o: the first section on Skovoroda's "life and the formation of his worldview," the fourth (and longest) section on Skovoroda's "philosophical-ethical teaching," and the afterword. Making use of recent clarifications in Skovoroda's biography and on the dates of his writings, Ivan'o attempts to construct an interpretive biography of his subject while tracing the evolution of his thought. The data are relatively scarce, however, so that one cannot but wonder, for instance, if the differences between what Skovoroda wrote in his intimate, partly pedagogical letters to his young friend Kovalens'kyj and what he expressed in his philosophical dialogues and treatises yield a valid account of his spiritual

[4] Unfortunately, this edition has moved "Carmen" from its usual position in the *Garden of Divine Songs* to the collection's end. Arguments can be made for restoring the traditional position of "Carmen" in the well-ordered entity, not only on the grounds of its place in the best manuscript, but also on those of internal coherency.

or intellectual evolution, as Ivan'o maintains. In any case, Ivan'o's interpretations are undistinguished in psychological depth or breadth. For instance, he does not deal in any detail with Skovoroda's spirituality. (What of Skovoroda's apparently mystical experience as related by his close friend and biographer Kovelens'kyj? What of his own statements in early letters to Kovalens'kyj about being, as a mystic might put it, already "dead to the world?" Why did Skovoroda write a friend, apparently in 1761, that he has abandoned everything in order to devote his life to understanding the death of Christ and the significance of his resurrection, "for no one can rise with Christ if he has not first died with Him"?) More thought could surely have been directed to Skovoroda's emotional life aside from his spirituality—or, for that matter, to his sexuality.

Social factors do, of course, greatly influence men, but so do the contours of their inner lives. It is the latter elements that are not dealt with adequately here. We have evidence that Skovoroda did suffer emotional crises. The charting of his personal growth requires a good deal more consideration of these than is apparent here. Certainly, the basic themes of his philosophic system already seem evident in the early (according to Maxnovec') "De sacra caena, seu aeternitate." Ivan'o himself admits that "evolution in Skovoroda's worldview is barely perceptible" (p. 214). He believes that Skovoroda grew toward inner self-peace and self-assuredness, although he notes that "somewhat incomprehensible in its mood remains the twenty-ninth song, dated 1785" (p. 219). Thus Ivan'o himself seems aware of the incompleteness of his analysis. Yet, this part of his presentation deserves considerable attention because, although not wholly successful, it is an interesting and serious attempt to deal with the problems of a man whose philosophy and life were so remarkably intertwined. Elsewhere in the book Ivan'o concentrates on Skovoroda's ethics and theories of labor and the "nature" of the individual, as well as on his concepts of knowledge, self-knowledge, and happiness.

V. M. Ničyk is author of the work's second section, "H. Skovoroda and the Philosophic Tradition of the Kiev Mohyla Academy." She describes the Kievan philosophical milieu while comparing Skovoroda to earlier Kievan figures, often on the basis of unpublished materials. Her parallels between Skovoroda and Tuptalo, in particular, bear further investigation. The third section, on Skovoroda's "Doctrine of Two Natures and Three Worlds," is by D. P. Kyryk.

On the whole, this book is the most honest, balanced, and thorough description of Skovoroda's philosophic work to have appeared in the Soviet Union. Nonetheless, as the authors themselves admit, their task is not completed. For example, the work only mentions Skovoroda's indebtedness to classical writers and the church fathers, without any elaboration, although Skovoroda's social criticism is surely rooted there. The authors do not give Skovoroda's "doctrine of the heart" the treatment it is due, but attach probably too much weight to his "reason," since for Skovoroda the perception of inner truth, or of invisible nature by the "inner eye," was not so much a rational perception as a matter of "faith." Skovoroda's view is, of course, better described as panentheistic than by the authors' "pantheism." It is to the authors' credit, however, that they stress Skovoroda's concern with the spirit and spiritual regeneration, although these concepts are never clarified and, in general, the word "mystic" is avoided.

In references to Skovoroda's biography and the dates of his writings both *Povne zibrannja tvoriv* and *Filosofija Hryhorija Skovorody* rely upon the discoveries and conjectures of Leonid Maxnovec'. His entertaining book not only presents the results of the author's research,[5] but describes his investigations in a way that intrigues and involves the reader in the pleasures of scholarly speculation and the archival hunt. In *Hryhorij Skovoroda: Biohrafija*, Maxnovec' constructs a new, more precise model of Skovoroda's life by combining documentary data and Kovalens'kyj's biography with evidence gathered from close readings of Skovoroda's writings.

Some of the hypotheses and conjectures that result, however, are subject to criticism. For instance, Maxnovec' steers away from evidence that could shed light on Skovoroda's spirituality and becomes strident when interpreting Skovoroda's views and milieu. A truly comprehensive biography of Skovoroda and sensitive study of his personality is yet to be written—and may prove impossible to write, due to scarcity of evidence. Nevertheless, the new facts and convincing reconstructions presented by Maxnovec' make his study the foremost biographical work on Skovoroda to have appeared since the efforts of Bahalij and Petrov half a century or more ago, as well

[5] Maxnovec' analyzes the chronology of Skovoroda's letters not in this book but in two articles: "Pro xronolohiju lystiv Skovorody," *RL*, 1972, no. 4, pp. 54-66; and "Pro atrybuciju i xronolohiju lystiv Skovorody," *RL*, 1972, no. 10, pp. 34-47.

as one of the most engaging books ever written on his subject. It is equipped with maps but, alas, lacks an index, as does *Filosofija Hryhorija Skovorody.*

The fourth publication under review, Čyževs'kyj's *Skovoroda: Dichter, Denker, Mystiker*, appeared many years ago under a different guise (*Fil'osofija H. S. Skovorody*, Praci Ukrajins'koho naukovoho instytutu, vol. 24 [Warsaw, 1934]). The present version gives a slightly more comprehensive explication of Skovoroda's philosophy, especially his anthropology and ethics, as well as a summary of Čyževs'kyj's writings on Skovoroda's poetry and a brief new biography (this volume was written before the work of Maxnovec' and some of its biographical information is incorrect). The new publication, however, lacks the scholarly apparatus and emblem illustrations of the earlier version, which also paid more attention to Skovoroda's Ukrainian aspects and briefly treated his rhetorical-philosophical manner.

On the whole, the delineation of the elements in Skovoroda's philosophy presented in this work is probably more accurate than that in *Filosofija Hryhorija Skovorody.* Čyževs'kyj describes Skovoroda's metaphysics as a "monodualism" and argues that his ethics complement his mysticism. Indeed, it is in his treatment of the mystical elements in Skovoroda's philosophy that Čyževs'kyj performs his greatest service. In convincing detail he traces Skovoroda's affinities, similarities, and differences relative to the neo-Platonic and patristic traditions and to German mysticism. In the heat of polemic Ivan'o has coarsened Čyževs'kyj's position and has even claimed that the latter presents Skovoroda as a "pupil" of the German mystics. Yet, in fact, Čyževs'kyj is careful to note—especially in regard to the German influence—that the parallels of thought or expression that he marshals are not so much a matter of influence as of an "inner relation," a spiritual commonality whose symptom is external similarity of expression.

Čyževs'kyj's erudition is enormous, and his presentation is a wholly reasonable one. For as he points out, one cannot definitely "solve" the questions of Skovoroda's visions, and one might even entertain doubts about the actuality of his mystical experience. Yet, the mystic character of his philosophy remains beyond dispute.

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REVIEWS

Evlija Čelebi. KNIGA PUTEŠESTVIJA. IZVLEČENIJA IZ SOČINENIJA TURECKOGO PUTEŠESTVENNIKA XVII VEKA: PEREVOD I KOMMENTARII. No. 1: ZEMLI MOLDAVII I UKRAINY. Edited by *A.S. Tveritinova.* Compiled by *A.D. Željakov.* With introductions by *A.D. Željakov, A.S. Tveritinova, V.V. Mavrodin.* Akademija nauk SSSR. Pamjatniki literatury narodov Vostoka: Perevody, no. 6. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo vostočnoj literatury, 1961. 338 pp. [indexes, pp. 299-322].

KSIĘGA PODRÓŻY EWLIJI CZELEBIEGO: WYBÓR. Translated from the Turkish by *Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, Aleksander Dubiński,* and *Stanisława Płaskowicka-Rymkiewicz.* Edited with a preface and commentary by *Zygmunt Abrahamowicz.* With a study about Evliyā Čelebi and his work by *Jan Reychman.* Księga i Wiedza: Warsaw, 1969. xxxvii, 477 pp. [no indexes]

The greatest Ottoman traveler was born in Istanbul in 1020 A.H./1611 A.D. and died, probably in the same city, in the last months of 1095 A.H../1684 A.D.[1] His personal name is unknown, for he achieved fame under the pen name *Evliyā*; the word *čelebi*, a referent standing second in accordance with the structure of Turkish, is an appellative meaning "Sir." Evliyā began journeying from his native Istanbul in 1630, during the height of Ottoman power; on his last travels, he witnessed the Vienna catastrophe of 1683 that signaled the empire's demise. He was born into a family of wealthy, well-connected craftsmen that had probably come to Istanbul from the Anatolian

[1] For his bibliography, see J. H. Mordtmann and H. W. Duda in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed. (1958), s.v. "Evliyā Čelebi"; and M. David Baysun in *Islâm Anksiklopedisi*, s.v. "Evliyā Çelebî."

Kütahya (Evliyā's father was a court jeweler; his mother was related to the Grand Vezir Melek Aḥmed Paša [1650-51], a partner of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj; both parents were of Circassian origin). Evliyā devoted his life to wanderings within the Ottoman Empire and throughout Central and Western Europe, the Northern Caucasus, and North Africa. He traveled on his own, in the company of his uncle, or in the retinue of an Ottoman embassy. It is significant that he was a personal friend of the Crimean khan Meḥmed Girāy IV (1641-44; 1654-66).

His ten-volume "Seyāḥatnāme" [Book of travels] was written piecemeal and its editing was never completed. An imaginative writer, Evliyā did not always distinguish between *Dichtung* and *Wahrheit*. His reportage can serve as a source of information about the geography, history, and folklore of the Ottoman Empire and the other countries and peoples he visited only after severe philological criticism. The autograph of the "Seyāḥatnāme" was lost; the oldest extant copies of the entire work date from 1158 A.H./1745 A.D. (Pertev Paşa collection, nos. 458-62; Topkapı Saray, Bağdat Köşkü, nos. 300-304; Beşir Ağa, nos. 442-452).

A critical edition of Evliyā's work remains a necessity. Eight volumes of his writings appeared in the Arabic script, but these, unfortunately, are marred by many misprints, omissions, and the censoring of some passages.[2] The first six volumes, edited by Neğīb ʿĀṣim and Aḥmed Ǧevdet (the sixth together with Imre Karácson), were published in Istanbul during the despotic rule of ʿAbdülḥāmid II in 1897-1900; volumes seven and eight were published by the Turkish Historical Society (Istanbul, 1928).[3] The last two volumes, published by the Turkish Ministry of Education (Istanbul, 1935, 1938), are of limited value because they appeared in the modern Latin alphabet. A popular semi-translation into modern Turkish of the "Seyāḥatnāme" was undertaken by Zuhuri Danişman and was published in Istanbul in fifteen volumes of over 300 pages each during 1969-71.

The first scholar to discover the Turkish "Ibn Baṭṭūta" was Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, who in 1834-50 published in London his English translation of the first two volumes (*Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the Seventeenth Century, by Evliya Efendi,*

[2] Many of the censored passages were published by Mustafa Nihat Özön (although, unfortunately, in Latin script) in his *Evliya Çelebi, Seyahatname: On yedinci asır hayatından lâvhalar*, vol. 3: *Sansürce çıkarılmış parçalar* (Ankara, 1945).

[3] The critical evaluation of this edition was published by Franz Taeschner, "Die neue Stambuler Ausgabe von Evlijā Tschelebis Reisewerk," *Der Islam* 18, nos. 3-4 (1929): 299-310.

vol. 1:1 [1834]; vol. 1:2 [1846]; vol. 2 [1850]). The first volume contains a description of Istanbul, whereas the second is devoted to Anatolia and the Caucasus.

A group of ten Russian scholars, headed by A.D. Željakov and A.S. Tveritinova, translated those passages of the Seyāḥatnāme that dealt with Moldavia and the Ukraine. Polish Turkologists Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, Aleksander Dubiński, and Stanisława Płaskowicka-Rymkiewicz decided to introduce the Polish reader to the work. They organized their chosen passages in four divisions, the last (and longest) of which dealt entirely with the Crimea and the Crimean campaigns (pp. 173-368). Fortunately, the two translated works complement each other: most passages concerning the Ukraine now exist in either Russian (= A) or in Polish (= B) translation.[4] The passages are the following (the first figures refer to the ten-volume edition published in Istanbul):

1. Vol. 2, pp. 113-127 = B, pp. 175-185: Evliyā among the Tatars during the Azov campaign of 1641/42 in the Crimea;
2. Vol. 3, pp. 352-354 = B, pp. 61-63; the encounter of Melek Aḥmed Paša with the (Don) Cossacks in Balčyk (Özi [Očakiv] vilāyet) in 1652;
3. Vol. 5, pp. 104-233 = A, pp. 29-160: Evliyā's participation in the campaign of Melek Aḥmed Paša (who acts as an ally of the Polish king Jan Kazimierz) against George II Rákóczy and the Ukrainians in 1657; this role brings him to Galicia and the Right-Bank Ukraine. There are brief descriptions of many Ukrainian cities (including L'viv) and castles, as well as a brief lexical collection illustrating the Rus' (Ukrainian) language (pp. 159-160 = A, pp. 88-89);
4. Vol. 6, pp. 364-378 = B, pp. 193-208: an account of Evliyā's raids with the Tatars (both real and fantasized) through Europe in 1633;
5. Vol. 7, pp. 490-504 = A, pp. 185-200 = B, pp. 209-212: Evliyā in Akkerman (Bilhorod-Dnistrovs'kyj) and the Crimea in 1665-66;
6. Vol. 7, pp. 504-518 = B, pp. 212-232: the internal difficulties of the Crimean Khanate in 1665-66;

[4] The exceptions are passages about the Carpatho-Ukraine in volume 6, which is now being translated into English by G. Beyerle of Indiana University. An analysis of Evliyā's data concerning the Ukraine was presented by Christa Hilbert in her dissertation, "Osteuropa 1648-1681 bei den zeitgenössischen osmanischen Historikern: Ukraine-Polen-Moskau" (Göttingen University, 1948).

7. Vol. 7, pp. 519-561 = A, pp. 201-246: Evliyā's participation in the Crimean Tatar expedition against the Ukrainian Cossacks in 1665-66; descriptions of several Ukrainian cities on the Right Bank (partly repetitious), also based on the data from 1656-57 and 1661-62;

8. Vol. 7, pp. 560-618; 638-655; 661-701 = B, pp. 232-344: a description of the Crimea and its internal problems, ca. 1666;

9. Vol. 8, pp. 26-51 = B, pp. 345-368: the return from the Taman Peninsula to the Crimea; Evliyā visits Khan 'Ādil Čoban Girāy (1665-70) and returns to Istanbul (1667);

10. Vol. 10, pp. 47-48 = B, pp. 173-174: about the Crimean Girāy dynasty.[5]

In general, both the Russian and the Polish translations render the Ottoman Turkish text correctly. There is, however, a great difference between them. Whereas the Russian translation was prepared by student novices of things Ottoman who were only marginally familiar with Ukrainian topography and history, the Polish one was completed by three well-known Ottomanists under the direction of Zygmunt Abrahamowicz, an authority on Ottoman philology as well as Ukrainian, Crimean, and Ottoman historical geography. Dr. Abrahamowicz's extensive notes are the specialist's delight, for they are in themselves an important contribution to the field.

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AN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, WITH DETAILED MAPS TO ILLUSTRATE THE EXPANSION OF THE SULTANATE. By *Donald Edgar Pitcher*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972. x, 171 pp. 36 maps.

The work under review was prepared in 1950 and consists of two parts: (1) a narrative "account of the rise of the Ottoman Empire viewed from the standpoint of historical geography," with emphasis on political geography; (2) 36 color maps, many of which provide

[5] S. S. Szapszał, "Znaczenie podróży Ewlija Czelebiego dla dziejów Chanatu Krymskiego," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 8 (L'viv, 1934): 167-80.

only general orientation (e.g., nos. 17, 19, 24). Unfortunately, the author knows no Turkish and his diligent work is based entirely on the secondary literature; a list of these works (nos. 1-326) is included (pp. 1-20).

While it has some value for the general reader, this expensive book is a double disappointment for scholars of Ukrainian or Ottoman history who are interested in the spectacular rise of the Ottoman Empire and in its Black Sea policy. First, its presentation ends with the year 1609, a time when relations between the Ukraine and the Ottoman Empire were just beginning to develop. Second, the maps of the Black Sea's northern coast (nos. 29, 30) are too simplistic to provide any real information (see also the narratives on pp. 93-94, 121-23, 132, 133-34). Although each map contains only a few names, several errors appear, as, for example, *Ibaraz* for *Zbaraž* and *Zvaniev* for *Žvanec'* (map 29), *Byalow Czerkow* for *Bila Cerkva* (map 30), and some unusual spellings: *Kopyczincz*, *Bucsacz* (map 29). One must conclude that a historical atlas of the Ottoman Empire, prepared by an Ottomanist and with a separate map for each province, remains an urgent desiderate of scholarship.

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IVAN FRANKO: HIS THOUGHTS AND STRUGGLES. By *Nicholas Wacyk*. The Shevchenko Scientific Society. Ukrainian Studies, vol. 38; English Section, vol. 11. New York: 1975. xv, 114 pp.

Ivan Franko, among the most significant of Ukrainian writers, played a critical role in the political situation in Galicia at the turn of the twentieth century. An analysis of that role would be a welcome addition to the study of East European history. Unfortunately, the book under review does not fulfill such a purpose. One can only trust that the original version of the work, "Die Entwicklung der nationalpolitischen Ideen Ivan Franko's [*sic*] und seine Kämpfe für sie," presented as a doctoral dissertation in Vienna in 1948, was better written and more analytical than this present adaptation.

It is possible, although difficult, for the reader to overlook such quixotic writing as "Nurtured on Classical literature, [Franko] also had broad acquaintances with the literary works of all European authors" (p. xiii); "The time must be sad when the genial poet is being described in respectable editions in his native land as a partisan of Russian literature only. ... He was a champion for 'freedom, equality and brotherhood of all peoples' including the Russian people, contrary to what Friedrich Engels said, and never disavowed by Marx. Engels wrote 'The Germans, Poles and Magyars were the bearers of progress ...'" (pp. 6-7); or, for that matter, "Western European ideas had access to his consciousness" (p. 93). Even more trying are the numerous verbatim repetitions within the text of the book's 95 pages. Most difficult, however, is to discern the purpose of publishing this work in English. Ostensibly "this edition may be helpful to get a truer image of the poet's literary activity and its background" (p. xiii). Unfortunately, it falls wide of that mark.

The reader of the English text will find little information on "the poet ... endowed with power to liberate his people from darkness and make them one of the free nations" (p. 7), except for a collection of badly used clichés. Romanticism, Realism and Classicism are capitalized and treated as definitively enclosed systems needing no elaboration. Symbolism, however, is analyzed in the following paragraph (p. 94), which is a repetition of previous text (p. 53):

> Around 1880, in Western Europe, a new literary movement, called Symbolism, was in progress; it was a reaction to the rationalistic world outlook. The new literary movement gave more room to art and creative power. Following this trend, the poet began retracting from socialism, of which the chief representatives became exponents of the interests of large nations proletariats [*sic*]. This process, in his works, is characterized by his poetry in "Withered Leaves" (1896).

Franko's socialism and his attempts to cooperate with Polish socialists are portrayed through the prism of Franko's undisputed nationalism; his historical works, mentioned under the label of his belief in "science," are for the most part overlooked. The views of Mykhailo Drahomanov, which certainly merit discussion in any book on the subject at hand, are mentioned only in footnotes. However, the work does discuss in detail the nationalistic diatribes of a justly forgotten fourth-rate Russian publicist of the early nineteenth century, Nikolai Polevoi. Indeed, one has the feeling that Wacyk is arguing with old-time reactionaries rather than writing for an English readership. For

instance, he does not identify a certain "Minister Count Badeni"; yet in a footnote elaborating on Ukrainian-Polish-Austrian politics in Galicia in the 1890s, he discusses "symptoms of an underlying instability in this relationship ... in the reign of Casimir the Great, the King of Poland, as late as 1349" (p. 59).

The bibliography is erratic, including such seemingly unrelated works as a Penguin edition of Michael Psellus, the portable Gibbon, and an article on the Shevchenko Scientific Society by Matviy Stachiw published in the almanac of the Ukrainian National Association for 1973. The work is preceded by two pages of "Rules on the Transliteration of the non-English Personal and Topographical Names (Adopted by Shevchenko Scientific Society)" which bristle with grammatical infelicities. These rules do not, however, prevent the author from using his own transliteration system upon occasion, as, for instance, *Kaukaz* instead of *Kavkaz* for the Caucasus (p. 8).

Unfortunately, by issuing such works as this one the Shevchenko Scientific Society detracts from the first-rate studies that have appeared under its aegis. Ironically, Franko's original research in the social history of Galicia helped establish the society's international reputation. Wacyk's book about him, alas, does both Franko and the society a disservice.

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CHRONICLE

OREST ZILYNS'KYJ, *IN MEMORIAM*
(12 APRIL 1923-16 JULY 1976)

In July 1976, shocking news reached this country: Orest Zilyns'kyj, the spiritual leader of the Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia, had died. We, his colleagues and personal friends, were stunned by the thought that this kind and gentlemanly scholar had been struck down in the prime of his life. Soon, his death during a holiday excursion in Zemplínska Šírava (Eastern Slovakia) was confirmed. The circumstances of that death remain obscure. His body was buried in Svidník, the Ukrainian cultural center in Slovakia he had often visited to advise its intelligentsia on their cultural and literary pursuits.

* * *

Orest Zilyns'kyj was born on 12 April 1923, in Krasna (Lemko Ukrainian Korosten'ka, the district or *powiat* of Krosno), within the Lemko-Ukrainian enclave in Poland. He was the son of the eminent Ukrainian linguist Dr. Ivan [Kobasa][1] Zilyns'kyj (1879-1952), professor of East Slavic philology at the universities of Cracow (1926-1939) and Prague (1946-1952). He attended the Polish gymnasium in Cracow until 1939 and received his certificate from the Ukrainian gymnasium in Jaroslav in 1940. Orest's parents tutored him in Ukrainian subjects.

As a young man of eighteen, in the fall of 1941, Orest Zilyns'kyj entered the Ukrainian Free University in Prague. He also enrolled in the German university of that city. (The Czech Charles University had been closed by the German authorities.) Prior to 1945, he was quite active in the literary and student circles of the Ukrainian colony

[1] Ivan's father was a farmer named Mykola Kobasa who married a Polish girl, Anna Zilińska, from Wola Jaseńska; their son adopted his mother's name. Ivan married Julija Pryslops'ka, daughter of the local priest. Ivan Zilyns'kyj's *magnum opus* was his "Phonetic Description of the Ukrainian Language," which will appear in English translation in the Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies.

in Prague. In 1943, Zilyns'kyj's studies were interrupted by his imprisonment in the notorious Pankrác fortress by the Gestapo, and later by the events of war. Among his university teachers were renowned philologists and literary scholars, such as the Ukrainians Oleksander Kolessa (1867-1945), Ivan Pan'kevyč (1887-1958), and his father Ivan Zilyns'kyj, as well as the Czechs Bohuslav Havránek, Julius Dalanský and Bohumil Mathesius. Orest received his doctorate from Charles University in April 1949. The topic of his dissertation, which remains unpublished, was "The Semantic and Stylistic Function of the non-*polnoglasie* in the Literary Language of the Ukrainian Territory (*Sémantická a stylistická funkce neplnohlasí ve spisovném jazyce ukrajinského území*)."

The pedagogical activity of Orest Zilyns'kyj spanned only nine years, from 1949 to 1958. He taught at the Palacký University in Olomouc, first as assistant professor (1949-1956) and then as associate professor (1956-1958). His subjects were Polish language, Old Rus' literature and folklore, and modern Russian literature. In 1958, Zilyns'kyj opted for a research career, accepting the invitation of the Czechoslovak Academy of Arts and Sciences in Prague to become a research fellow in comparative literature and folklore. He worked with the academy for eighteen years, until his sudden death (in the *Československo-sovětský institut* from 1958 to 1964, the *Ústav jazyků a literatur* from 1964 to 1971, and the *Ústav pro českou a světovou literaturu* from 1971). When Czechoslovakia adopted the Soviet system of academic degrees, he wrote a second dissertation, on "The Popular Games of the Slavic Peoples (*Lidové hry Slovanů*),"[2] which he defended in 1966.

Orest Zilyns'kyj married twice. With his encouragement, Zilyns'kyj's first wife, Ludmila Klymenko, translated Ukrainian literature into Czech. They divorced in 1969. His second wife, Jeva Biss, is one of the leading Ukrainian novelists in Czechoslovakia. He is survived by two children by his first wife—Oksana and Bohdan.

* * *

Orest Zilyns'kyj was one of those fortunate young scholars who know their goal early in life. As a twenty-year-old university student, he had already chosen the path he would follow throughout his creative life—that of the Ukrainian *Geistesgeschichte* within the

[2] An English translation will appear in the Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies.

theoretical framework proposed by Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911). Zilyns'kyj sought to objectify the Ukrainian experience through the Ukraine's language and literature, its institutions, and its history during specific epochs. In his view, literature, in the broadest sense, was the truest self-expression of Ukrainian historical consciousness. Therefore, intellectual creativity and especially folklore,[3] concurrently with the study of social groups and their historical development, commanded his attention.

At the outset of his scholarly career, Zilyns'kyj was fascinated by the Ukrainian renascence of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He believed that during this great, contradictory epoch Ukrainian pre-secular society suffered the cruelest blows in its uneven contest with secularized Western culture, and yet mobilized dormant energies to produce its first full self-expression.[4]

Zilyns'kyj searched for Ukrainian roots in the cultural beginnings of the Slavs. He studied Ukrainian and Slavic perennial ritualistic games and songs, from their traditional beginnings to the seventeenth century. The relation of Slavic popular ballads to the Ukrainian *dumy*, in particular, attracted his interest. The complex problem of the origin of the *dumy* genre would continue to occupy his intellectual curiosity throughout his life.[5] He later studied the folklore of the times of Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj (d. 1657), especially Ukrainian love songs and humoristic verses (*virši-oracii*). The Ukrainian revival of the nineteenth century and the towering personality of Taras Ševčenko (1814-1861) inspired Zilins'kyj to write some fifteen studies. He also published several articles on Ivan Franko (1856-1916), whom he considered to be Galicia's own "Moses."

The literature of the Ukrainian *rozstriljane vidrodžennja* of the 1920s also captivated Zilyns'kyj. He wrote about many of its writers, analyzing their work and epoch in depth. Among his subjects were Mykola Bažan (b. 1904), Oleksander Dovženko (1894-1956), Jevhen Hryhoruk (1899-1922), Jurij Janovs'kyj (1902-1954), Jevhen Plužnyk (1898-1938), Valer'jan Polišćuk (1897-1942), Maksym Ryl's'kyj (1895-

[3] Folkloristic themes dominated Zilyns'kyj's work. An article on this aspect of his creativity will appear in a forthcoming issue of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*.

[4] See his "Duxova heneza peršoho ukrajins'koho vidrodžennja," in *Steži: Žurnal ukrajins'koho students'koho seredovyšča Nimeččyny ta Avstriji* 1, nos. 7-10 (Innsbruck-Munich [Göttingen], 1946-47): 6-20.

[5] An English translation of his basic monograph on the *dumy* will appear in the Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies.

1964), Volodymyr Svidzins'kyj (1885-1941), Pavlo Tyčyna (1891-1967), and Oleksa Vlyz'ko (1908-1934). Zilyns'kyj's studies helped rehabilitate some of these literary figures, for instance, Jevhen Plužnyk and Volodymyr Svidzins'kyj.

It was Zilyns'kyj's special distinction to have opened the eyes of the Soviet Ukrainian literary establishment to the talent and uniqueness of the Lemko Galician poet, Bohdan Ihor Antonyč (1909-1937), whose "thinking and style," wrote Zilyns'kyj, "was indeed passion ruled and governed by intellect."

A favorite scholarly idea of Zilyns'kyj's was that the Ukrainian *Geist* attained its greatest heights in lyrical poetry. He devoted special effort and care to this branch of literature, preparing several studies and anthologies, which, one hopes, will be published one day. Parallel to his studies of such sophisticated works, Zilyns'kyj wrote a monograph on the verses of Hryhorij Olijnyk, a Galician peasant who emigrated to Canada.

The literature of the "men of the sixties" (*šestydesjatnyky*), especially the poetry of Ivan Drač (b. 1936), the prose of Jevhen Hucalo (b. 1934), and the novel *Sobor* (1968) of Oles' Hončar (b. 1918), prompted Zilyns'kyj to deal with the Ukraine's capacity for spiritual regeneration.

From 1965, Zilyns'kyj took on the role of mentor to Ukrainian literary activity in Czechoslovakia, particularly in Prague and Prešov. In an effort to elevate the literary standards of the westernmost Ukrainian province, he wrote more than ten critical essays on regional poetry and prose, challenging its authors to become the avant-garde of Ukrainian national literature. He devoted special attention to the work of the gifted poets Myxajlo Drobnjak (b. 1942), Stephen Hostynjak, Ivan Macins'kyj, and Myroslav Nemet (b. 1943).

* * *

Orest Zilyns'kyj regarded himself primarily as an armchair scholar. Yet, he was far more than an anchorite who retired into the seclusion of his study. He believed in a mission, and he accepted the challenge of making a permanent contribution to his times.

Zilyns'kyj's aim was to use the highly-developed Czech literature and its relative intellectual freedom in the 1960s to strengthen the position of Ukrainian literature. Relying on his excellent rapport with Czech literati and scholars, he endeavored to arouse their interest in Ukrainian letters. His efforts met with enthusiastic response from a group

of Czech writers. In 1968, on the occasion of the Sixth International Congress of Slavists in Prague, an imposing volume (480 pages) appeared as a publication of the renowned Czech Slavonic Library (*Slovanská knihovna*). Its editor and foremost contributor was Orest Zilyns'kyj. The title of the work was *Sto padesát let česko-ukrajinských literárních styků, 1814-1964: Vědecko-bibliografický sborník* [One hundred fifty years of Czech-Ukrainian literary relations: a collection of scholarly bibliography]. The annotated bibliography with numerous essays, most of which were written by Zilyns'kyj, enumerated over 15,000 items. A large portion of the publications catalogued had come into being due to the inspiration and urgings of Orest Zilyns'kyj. Indeed, the volume is a testimony to a remarkable cultural exchange brought about through the efforts of a single individual.

* * *

In the last decade of his life Zilyns'kyj strove toward a twofold goal. On the one hand, he wanted to help Ukrainian literature enter the international literary arena through the medium of the respected Czech language. On the other, he sought to bolster the dignity of Ukrainian writers burdened with the inferiority complex that came with being representatives of the "younger brother." He had the satisfaction of seeing his goal materialize, as even the culturally sophisticated and demanding Czech public began reading works of Ukrainian literature.

During Czechoslovakia's era of "socialism with a human face" (1965-1968) the monthly *Duklja* published in Prešov became, under the guidance of Zilyns'kyj, one of the leading Ukrainian literary periodicals in Eastern Europe and certainly the most independent and bold among them. In effect, *Duklja* served as a literary "window on Europe" for Ukrainian writers in the more remote and restricted cultural centers of Kiev, L'viv, Odessa, and Xarkiv.

Orest Zilyns'kyj's greatest ambition was to organize an international association for Ukrainian studies having its own scholarly journal. He proposed such a venture in 1968, at the Sixth International Congress of Slavists in Prague; its Soviet participants, however, could not support his plan. With the end of the Prague "spring," his idea passed into oblivion in Czechoslovakia. However, that same year, in 1968, a systematic program of Ukrainian studies was initiated in the United States, at Harvard University. A few years later, in 1973, the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute was estab-

lished and the planning of its international journal began. Orest Zilyns'kyj followed these developments with great interest and rejoiced at the thought that his concept was being realized in this country.[6]

* * *

Orest Zilyns'kyj began publishing scholarly work in 1946, at the age of twenty-three. By 1976, he had produced a total of 206 books, articles, textbooks, reviews, and translations.[7] These appeared in several languages: Ukrainian, Czech, Slovak, Polish, Russian, English and German. At least five of his unpublished works are being prepared for publication; several others remain in manuscript form.

Nevertheless, Zilyns'kyj's design was left incomplete. His striving for exactitude and bibliographical perfection, paired with his passion for pioneering work, did not allow synthesis at an early age. Surely, however, had he lived, he would have constructed the magnificent edifice of the Ukrainian *Geistesgeschichte* that he had planned.

* * *

Let us part from Orest Zilyns'kyj with the words of Jeva Biss, his devoted wife:

> He passed from us at the height of his creativity, in the 53rd year of his life. He died, as dies a tall tree, whose roots cling tightly to its native soil and whose branches always catch the first songs of the heralds of dawn.
>
> We believe that his great work will find its rightful continuation. Let the memory of this gentle, tender, and true person be cherished in the hearts of those for whom he lived and worked, whom he loved and befriended.
>
> May you, Orest, find the soil of Svidník light, and may a gentle wind from your native Krasna reach your eternal resting place.

Omeljan Pritsak
Ihor Ševčenko
Harvard University

[6] The Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures at Harvard repeatedly invited him to teach Ukrainian literature at the university, but he was unable to accept these invitations.

[7] A bibliography of Zilyns'kyj's publications will appear in a forthcoming issue of *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*.